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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE



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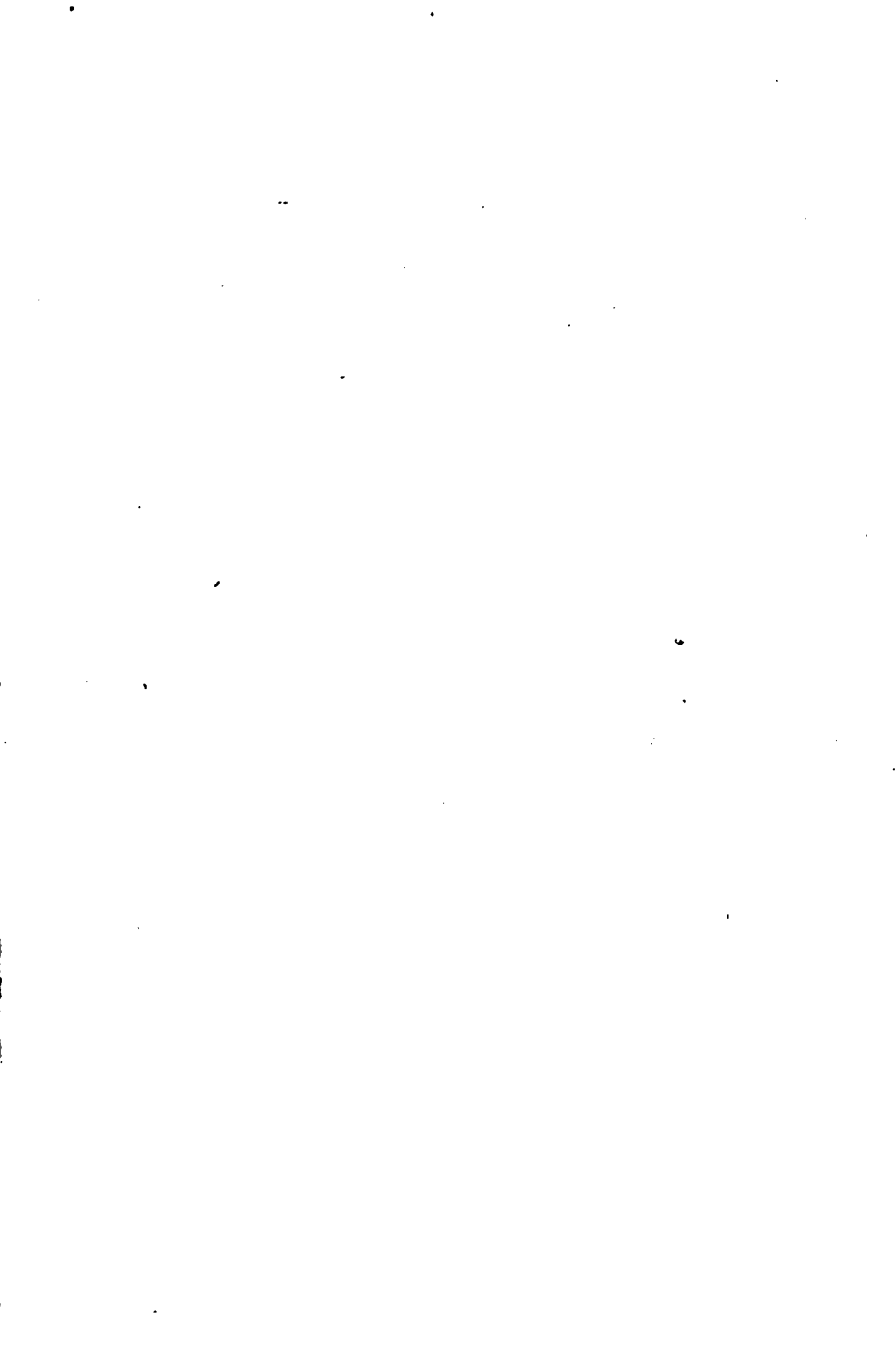
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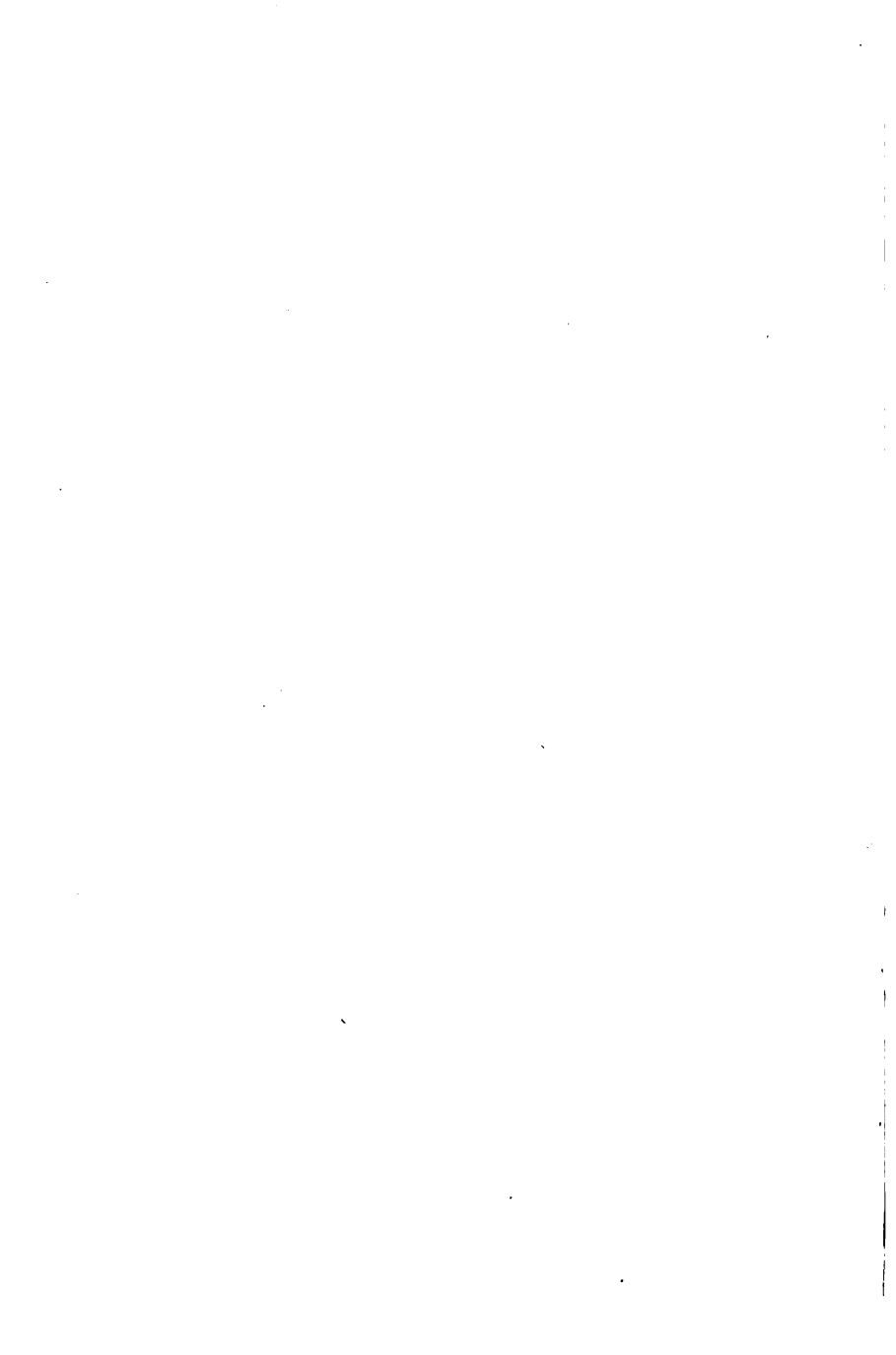
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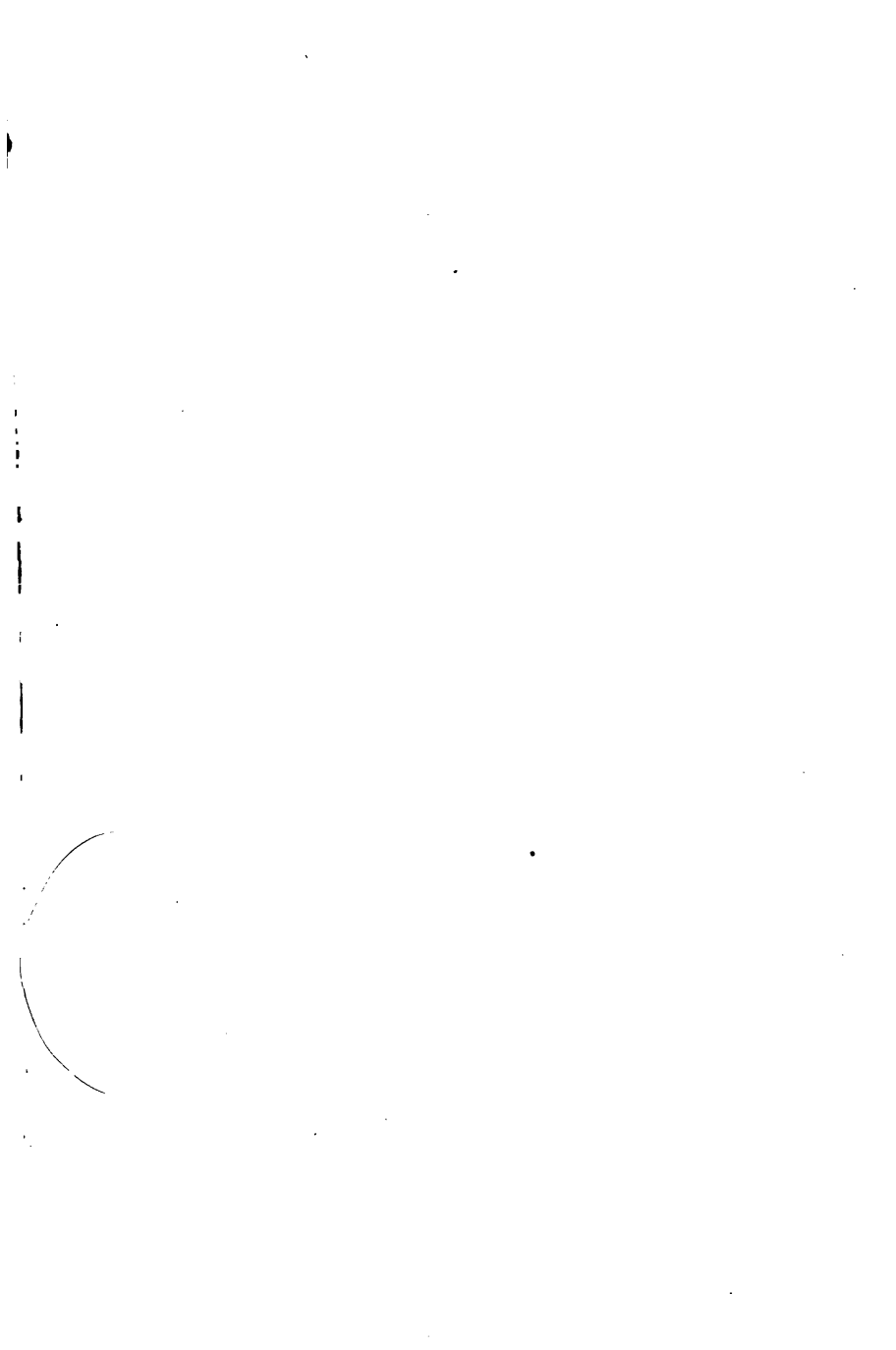
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*Notes on the History of  
Trinity College, Cambridge*







# NOTES ON

THE HISTORY OF

## Trinity College, Cambridge,

BY

*W. W. Rouse Ball*  
W. W. ROUSE BALL,

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF THE COLLEGE.

London

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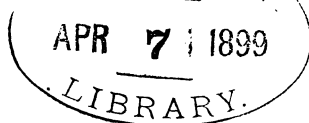
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**Oxford**

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## PREFACE

THIS booklet is but little more than an orderly transcript of what I have been accustomed to tell my pupils about the history of Trinity College, Cambridge. It contains no original investigations, nor anything more than such gossip about the college and the university as might occur to most residents who find pleasure in like matters.

I have given but few references. I admit that the authorities could not be given too fully or explicitly in a serious history, but a mere outline like this would be overloaded with them. Even apart from the slight character of the work, the reasons which have induced me to issue it as it stands without revising every detail would make it unnecessary to quote authorities. In the first place, we shall shortly have from the pen of an excellent authority—Mr. Boughey—a full history based on original documents. In the second place, to check every remark in this sketch would have involved considerable labour, for which I have not now—and,

so long as I continue to hold the office of tutor, cannot have—the necessary time: fortunately for many facts I could consult Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, Cooper's *Annals and Memorials*, and the *Architectural History* by Willis and Clark; and the reader who wants references or fuller information will naturally turn to these works. In the third place, I am printing it mainly for the use of my own pupils, and to delay issuing it until I had ceased to hold the office of tutor, and thereby secured the necessary leisure for research, would deprive it of its chief use: I have indeed emphasized its domestic character by constantly using phrases, almost conversational, such as 'our college,' while the fact that it is intended for so limited a class has permitted me greater freedom than would be desirable in a work written for a wider public.

My first sketch was concise. Every time I read it I was tempted to insert additional matter: this has made it longer than I desired, but when I look at it and think how much more I could have said, I wonder at my own moderation. In writing it out I have naturally asked myself whether it is really worth the printing. I think that, pending the production of a fuller account, it is. I have been frequently asked where some account of our history can be found, and I have generally found undergraduates interested in the subject; while should these notes be so fortunate as to stimulate the interest of any in the records of the Society of which they

are members, I shall deem myself well repaid for the trouble of reducing them to order and preparing them for the press.

As to the arrangement of the subject. I first, in chapter i, sketch briefly the history of the university, and then, in chapter ii, that of King's Hall, one of the three leading foundations of medieval Cambridge. Chapter iii is devoted to an account of the surrender by King's Hall of its charter, and to the foundation of Trinity and its early development. In chapter iv, I consider Whitgift's rule, 1567 to 1577, under which the college rose to the leading position in Cambridge; and in chapter v, Nevile's mastership, 1593 to 1615, under which our older buildings assumed their present form. In chapter vi, I deal with our history during the rest of the seventeenth century, in which, although the material prosperity of the college increased, its efficiency (like that of the rest of the university) suffered from the civil disturbances through which the country passed. In chapter vii, I give an account of the disastrous rule of Bentley, 1700 to 1742; in chapter viii, of the gradual restoration of prosperity and order, culminating in the decisive victory of 1787 and the subsequent outburst of intellectual activity; and in chapter ix, of the rise in numbers and steady progress from 1820 to the present day.

I feel that I lay myself open to criticism in that I allude, especially in the earlier chapters, so constantly

to university affairs ; but some knowledge of these facts is essential to a right understanding of our internal history, while in later times the lines on which the university has developed have been to no small extent influenced by Trinity action.

By the courtesy of the publishers I reproduce from Mr. Atkinson's *Cambridge Described and Illustrated* a map of the site of the college, and by the kindness of Mr. Bowes I am able also to use a part of his block which was taken from Hamond's map.

W. W. ROUSE BALL.

*Trinity College, Cambridge,  
January, 1899.*

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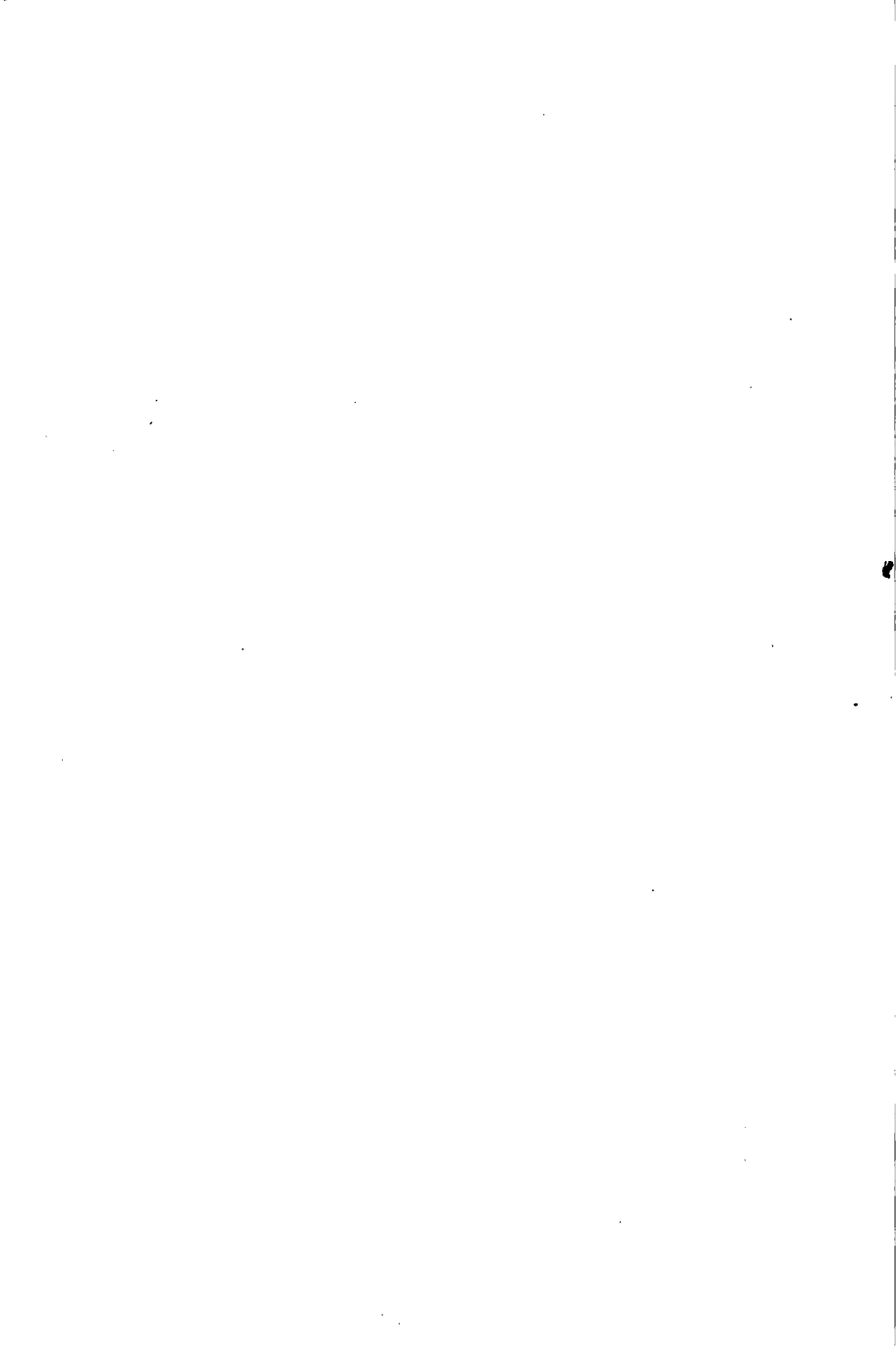
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## CHAPTER I.

### **The Development of the University.**

WE are accustomed to ascribe the foundation of Trinity College to Henry VIII, but in fact its history, under the name of King's Hall, goes back without any break of continuity to the days of Edward II. A brief account of the history of King's Hall is given in the next chapter. To explain the origin and internal life of a college it is, however, necessary to know something of the constitution of the university. I therefore commence with some notes on the history of the university, especially in medieval times.

The details of the foundation of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are not known exactly, but the main features can be described with reasonable accuracy. Both were constituted about the latter half of the twelfth century by teachers who settled in those towns, and gave lectures on logic, theology, or civil law. As the students grew in numbers, it became possible and desirable for the masters and scholars to act together as a sort of guild or trades-union whenever any interest common to all was concerned.

The development of these nascent universities followed closely the precedent of Paris, which served as the model for their early organization. The following dates mark

distinct stages in their evolution. The University of Paris was formed at some time between 1109 and (say) 1169; special legal privileges were conferred by the State in 1200; and its degrees received papal recognition in 1283. The University of Oxford was founded at some time between 1149 and 1180; special legal privileges were conferred by the State in 1214; the appointment of a chancellor or head, which indicated its recognition by the Church, was suggested in 1214 and effected between 1221 and 1225; and its degrees were recognized by the pope in 1296. The University of Cambridge was, as I am about to describe, formed before 1209, perhaps about 1180 or 1190; a chancellor was already in existence in 1225; special legal privileges were conferred by the state in 1231; and its degrees were recognized by the pope in 1318. Although these universities were recognized and encouraged by State and Church, they were not (like modern universities) created by a definite charter, but were self-constituted and self-governing communities. The two English universities were always closely connected with one another, and in their earlier history also with Paris.

Were we founding a university to-day, we should hardly locate it in a town like Cambridge, but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the position was an important one. Northwards, away to the Wash, stretched fens and bog-land, impassable to strangers except in a dry summer or after a long frost, and the northernmost cross-road by which the eastern counties could communicate with the midlands ran through the town. South-eastwards were the remains of a broad belt of forest which had at a somewhat earlier period interposed an almost insuperable barrier to communication

athwart it, and still rendered a route through it inconvenient. Moreover, at that time, not only was Lynn an important seaport, but the Cam was navigable by small sea-going vessels up to Cambridge. Thus the town was a port of entry; in fact, large numbers of merchants from the continent came every autumn by boat to Stourbridge Fair to exchange their goods for wool and horses, and for a month the place was thronged by travellers, who lived in tents and booths erected on the river-side.

The number of permanent residents, however, was small. In the eleventh century the place was little more than a collection of hovels; in 1086 it consisted of only 373 cottages grouped below the Castle, while at some little distance a few houses were clustered round St. Benet's Church; perhaps there were also a few buildings between the latter and the present Round Church. After William the Conqueror had received the submission of the fenmen, he put the district under a Norman, named Picot, who, in 1092, a year or two before his death, built St. Giles' Church, and in connexion with it endowed six secular canonries. The canons seem to have established a school of some kind, which doubtless was transferred to Barnwell when in 1112 they moved there. There is also a tradition that during the twelfth century another group of monks (who came from Croyland, after a fire had destroyed some of the buildings there) gave secular instruction in Cambridge: the evidence for this is unsatisfactory, but the statement is not in itself unlikely. At any rate there can be little doubt that from the end of the eleventh century instruction in Latin Grammar (and perhaps the other subjects of the trivium) was obtainable at Cambridge, and may-be at more than one school.



The population does not appear to have grown rapidly; perhaps by the close of the twelfth century the town contained (exclusive of the university) some 1800 or 2000 inhabitants, but the place seems to have been fairly prosperous, and probably the houses, gardens, and enclosed fields had by this time extended from the Castle southwards as far as Peterhouse. Two principal roads or lanes ran roughly parallel to the river, following the routes of Bridge Street up to Christ's College and of Trinity Street up to Peterhouse. Another street of some importance ran from the foot of Trinity Lane, by Trinity Hall and Clare, over the site of the Fellows' buildings at King's, and emerged by Queens' near a ford leading to the Barton Road: fragments of this street still exist opposite Clare and Queens'. In a comparatively short time the space between the above-mentioned roads (themselves none too wide) and the river was covered with a network of narrow filthy lanes, and within the next century the topography of the town was definitely settled.

It is believed, and is in itself probable, that among the travellers who came to Stourbridge Fair towards the close of the twelfth century were 'clerks' who there discoursed to those who would listen to them on the scholastic questions which were so interesting to the majority of the students of the period; and that some of these lecturers stayed in Cambridge after the fair was over, and collected (as in those times was easy) considerable classes\*. At what precise date these masters and

\* Mr. Rashdall holds that the current beliefs as to the origin of the English universities are incorrect, and has suggested that the University of Oxford had its origin in 1167 in a settlement of masters and scholars from Paris; and that forty-two years later the University of Cambridge was founded somewhat similarly

scholars organized themselves into a *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* we cannot say. We have no reason to think that it was earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century, and at latest it must have been before the end of 1209: it is improbable that we can now fix the limits more closely—but the *universitas*, whenever formed, was independent of the glomerel (*i. e.* grammar) and monastic schools. At the same time there can be no doubt that the teachers at these schools and the local ecclesiastical authorities heartily welcomed the advent of the foreign lecturers who originated the university, and willingly provided them with such accommodation as was necessary. This was of the simplest kind, and, in fact, the university had no buildings of its own until the middle of the fourteenth century—a barn or two (for lecture purposes) and a church (for meetings and as a store-room) being all that was regarded as necessary even after the university had been fully constituted.

From an allusion in some legal proceedings in 1225 to the chancellor of the university, and from the fact that in 1229 Henry III invited French students to leave Paris and settle in Cambridge, it is clear that it was then an organized and well-known university. In 1231 Henry III gave the university jurisdiction over townsmen in certain cases where university interests were concerned; in 1251 he extended it so as to give exclusive legal jurisdiction in some matters concerning scholars; and a few years later we find the power of the university to fix the prices of provisions and lodgings acknowledged. The university was recognized by letters from

by a migration from Oxford. I mention this theory without criticism, but, at any rate as far as Cambridge is concerned, I do not think that it is established.

the pope in 1233, and in 1318 John XXII granted to it all the rights which were or could be enjoyed by any university in Christendom. This gave its graduates a title to teach throughout western Europe, and helped to secure the university from episcopal and monastic interference.

The history of the university may be divided into four periods—namely, that during the middle ages, that during the renaissance, that under the Elizabethan statutes, and that during the last half century. The distinguishing features of these periods may be briefly indicated.

The history of the medieval university was mainly determined by four important movements which had their origin in the thirteenth century. These were—first, the creation of a system of tuition, which is the basis of our existing arrangements; second, the encouragement given to masters to open private hostels, which (until the latter half of the sixteenth century) afforded lodging to the majority of undergraduates; third, the action taken to prevent the university falling under the control of the monastic orders; and fourth, the commencement of the foundation of colleges. The fourteenth century saw the final defeat of the religious orders in their efforts to govern the university, and a further development of the collegiate system: it is noticeable, for the formal agreement (in 1333) of Oxford and Cambridge, to recognize no other degree-granting body in England. In the fifteenth century there were signs of the coming revolt against the narrowness of the schoolmen, and the collegiate system continued to extend. The wildest statements have been made about the number of students in medieval times. I conjecture that the total number of masters and scholars (exclusive of monks) resident at any one time

at Cambridge during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries varied between 500 and 1000, and that the total population of the town and university during the same centuries averaged about 4000. The number of students at Paris during this time was much larger than the number here; while the number at Oxford was, I should suppose, rather larger during the thirteenth century, considerably larger during the fourteenth century, and perhaps about the same during the fifteenth century.

The sixteenth century was the period of the renaissance; in it the studies and constitution of the university were revolutionized. Thenceforward the colleges became the true centres of university life. Probably the number of students resident at any one time between 1525 and 1575 varied from (say) 700 to 1800—the fluctuations being considerable.

The Elizabethan statutes were given in 1570 and remained in force for nearly three centuries. The close of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth were marked in the university as well as outside by puritan disputes; and later, discipline and work alike were disturbed by the troubles of the civil wars. The eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century were memorable partly for the rise of the mathematical school (mainly under the influence of the Newtonian philosophy), and partly for the creation of a Senate-House Examination (now known as the Mathematical Tripos) which gradually superseded the exercises previously required from a candidate for a degree. The number of students at the university during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems to have varied between 1700 and 3000.

I am accustomed to describe the middle and close of the nineteenth century as the period of a Victorian renaissance. New studies have been largely introduced, and the Elizabethan statutes have been replaced by those under which we live. The university, which for centuries had been singularly inefficient in the promotion of learning and the management of its property, awoke to a sense of its duties, and began to provide laboratories and teaching: to find funds for extending its work, parliament, after considerable discussion, sanctioned the somewhat questionable policy of permitting the university to appropriate annually from the colleges what is now equivalent to about a tenth of their gross income. This increase of university activity, and the crippling of the resources of the colleges in order to find means for it, are the main features in our history during the last twenty years.

To return to the medieval university. I have said that the thirteenth century—the creative period—was marked by four movements. The first three of these explain the position immediately prior to the collegiate movement, and therefore I add a few words on them.

Many of the students who flocked to the university were so young and inexperienced that it was a matter of extreme importance to secure them against extortion or undue influence. Steps were taken very early to ensure this. In 1231 a rule was made that every scholar must place himself under the tuition of some master: and in 1276 the university, in virtue of powers conferred by the Crown, passed a grace that no lodging-house keeper or teacher was to receive a scholar unless the latter had a fixed master within fifteen days after his entry into the university. No record of this tutorial relation was kept by the university, but at stated periods the masters

attended in the schools, and each read out the roll of his pupils. There was no formal matriculation of students before the year 1544.

The university also took steps to encourage the resident masters to open hostels or boarding-houses, and until the sixteenth century the majority of the students lived in these houses. One of the extant statutes of the university gives the detailed rules laid down about the year 1300 for regulating the hiring of these hostels. How rapidly the university had become the dominant power in the town is illustrated by the fact that if a master of arts wished to take any particular house for a hostel and could give security for the rent he could obtain possession of it.

These hostels gave sufficient protection to the wealthier students, but those who were poor were subject to constant temptation to join one of the monastic orders, many of which had, by the middle of the thirteenth century, built houses, where food, shelter, the use of a library, and assistance were offered to any who would join the order. The university, however, strongly resented such efforts to capture young boys, and never ceased to be on its guard against these foreigners who, so ran the phrase, 'cajoled lads before they could well distinguish betwixt a cap and a cowl.' After a bitter struggle, the university triumphed. Its success was due partly to the foundation of colleges, which offered similar advantages to clever students, and partly to a series of graces passed in the early half of the fourteenth century (notably in 1336 and 1359) which gave reasonable security against excessive zeal in proselytizing by those who claimed the privileges of the university.

This struggle illustrates the important fact that the medieval university was essentially a lay corporation. No

doubt its members (like most of the official and professional classes—other than soldiers—of the period) were described as clerks ; but to be a clerk implied then little more than celibacy as long as clerical privileges were claimed, and ability to read and write ; it was not irrevocable, and did not necessarily involve taking orders. It is, however, true that the majority of the scholars either were in orders or looked forward to taking them, but this was to enable them to hold benefices (appointments to which were then the usual reward for civil service) and to say masses (for the due performance of which much of the income of a college was given). Only a small proportion of graduates proceeded to the higher faculties, and among them law was more popular than theology.

Although the presence of these religious houses was a constant menace to the peace of the university, they aided its development. They also materially increased the prosperity of the town, and, to some extent, acted as a counterpoise to the growing power of the lay university in local matters. By the close of the thirteenth century the mayor and burgesses had received a charter of incorporation, and were represented in parliament—facts which sufficiently indicate that the place was of some importance. It may be added, by way of parenthesis, that the town continued to increase in prosperity for at least another century. Its subsequent decline relative to the university and district was largely due to the fact that the ratio borne by the commerce of Norfolk to that of the rest of England decreased, but this decline was augmented by the gradual sale of most of the river frontages and wharves to colleges, and the consequent destruction of the facilities offered to trade.

The establishment of colleges also dates from the

thirteenth century, and most profoundly affected the future of the university. The early colleges were founded partly to afford permanent homes to the more deserving scholars, partly to free them from the temptation to join religious orders merely to obtain means to carry on their education. These societies were designed to support certain fellows and a few scholars (to give them their modern titles) who formed a sort of family under the headship of one of their members. In some of the colleges—*ex. gr.* Michael-House—all the members were, in general, priests and masters of arts, while in others a large proportion were graduates and teachers; but, in our own case, at King's Hall, there was a body of students who were lads, and corresponded to what we should nowadays call scholars and exhibitioners.

At first the colleges received no undergraduates, if I may use the word, other than the scholars of the foundation. Gradually pensioners were also admitted; early in the sixteenth century the practice was recognized, and, in a comparatively short time thereafter, all members of the university were absorbed into the colleges. Thus the university finally took the form of an aggregate of separate and independent corporations, with a federal constitution analogous in a rough sort of way to that of the United States of America. It is this fact that makes the colleges so important a feature in Oxford and Cambridge, and justifies the prominence given to them in any account of these universities.

About the close of the twelfth century the collegiate system commenced at Paris by the endowment of hostels for the reception of poor students. Many of the French colleges were little more than boarding-houses maintained by charity, and in all cases they were subject to university



supervision—an important point, which differentiates them from the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

In England the earliest university foundations of the kind were located at Oxford. Scholars were in residence at Balliol, perhaps as early as 1261, and certainly before June, 1266: but this society, which owed its origin to an ecclesiastical penance, was not put on a permanent basis until 1282. Merton dates its history from 1263 or 1264: it was definitely established in 1274, and its founder is justly ranked as the originator of that distinctive collegiate system which is characteristic of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1263, or perhaps a little earlier, Walter de Merton assigned his estate at Malden in Surrey to a community of scholars (all of whom were in fact his nephews), and made arrangements for the support of twenty of them at Oxford, '*aut alibi ubi studium viget generale.*' He seems, however, to have been doubtful whether to establish them permanently at Oxford or at Cambridge. In 1265 he bought some property at Oxford for their use, but a year or so later he purchased for them a house and a considerable estate here. Whether any of them ever resided at Cambridge is not known. Between 1270 and 1274 he again bought property at Oxford. Finally, in 1274, he moved all his scholars to a house he had purchased at Oxford, and appointed that city as their home: he also at the same time transferred to them the property he had acquired in Cambridge, and it still remains in the possession of his foundation. The statutes drawn up by Merton in 1274 for the guidance of his scholars were framed with singular discretion, and were subsequently taken as the basis for those of various other colleges at both universities. No monk was under any circumstances admissible to his foundation.

The value of these secular houses was immediately recognized, and in 1280 the University of Oxford applied a legacy (left in 1249 for the support of certain masters studying theology) to found a third college, now known as University College. Nearly a generation passed away before the number of such foundations at Oxford was increased. Then came the foundation of Exeter in 1314, of Oriel in 1326, of Queen's in 1341, of Canterbury in 1365, and of New College in 1379; and then, after the lapse of nearly half a century, of Lincoln in 1427, of All Souls in 1437, and of Magdalen in 1458.

I turn now to consider how the same movement affected Cambridge. About the same time as Merton was buying property in Cambridge wherewith to endow a college for certain students not attached to a religious order, his contemporary Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, was taking steps of a somewhat different character to meet similar needs. The bishop thought it would be feasible and desirable to combine monastic and secular scholars in one foundation. To effect this he added to the religious house, which then occupied part of the site of St. John's College, a certain number of secular scholars. There was, however, perpetual strife between the two bodies, and finally (in 1284) the combination was dissolved and the property divided—the seculars securing as part of their share two hostels, which were thenceforth known as Peterhouse. The statutes of the college were based on those of Merton, but were not given till about 1344: they provided for the maintenance of a master, fourteen fellows or scholars, and two or three sizars (to give them their modern designations).

Twenty years elapsed without a second benefactor coming forward to establish another college here; finally,

in 1305, the university petitioned Edward I for his assistance in the matter, and he directed preliminary inquiries to be made. His death shortly afterwards prevented immediate action, but Edward II some time before 1316, possibly acting on the result of these inquiries, endowed and constituted a body of scholars at Cambridge, and apparently also agreed to pay the rent of a house or houses wherein they might live pending their acquirement of a permanent home. In 1337 Edward III established them in a collegiate building of their own, subsequently known as King's Hall: the original house was on the grass plot in the Old Court of Trinity in front of the chapel.

The next college to be founded in Cambridge was Michael-House, the site of which (like that of King's Hall) is now included in Trinity: it was founded in 1324 by Hervey de Stanton, chancellor to Edward II, and it occupied a site near the south-west corner of the Old Court.

The foundation here of other colleges and halls now proceeded apace: Clare (or University) was founded in 1326; Pembroke in 1347; Gonville in 1348; Trinity Hall in 1350; Corpus in 1352. Then, after the lapse of nearly a century, we come to the foundation, in 1428, of Buckingham College (originally intended for the use of Benedictines, but perhaps always open also to laymen); in 1439 of God's House; in 1441 of King's; in 1448 of Queen's, which in 1465 was refounded or enlarged by the wife of Edward IV, who changed the name to Queens' College; in 1473 of St. Catharine's; in 1496 of Jesus; in 1505 of Christ's, wherein God's House was merged; in 1511 of St. John's; in 1519 of Magdalene, wherein Buckingham was absorbed. Then, in 1546, of Trinity,

wherein King's Hall was absorbed. Next, in 1558, the augmentation or refoundation of Gonville Hall by Caius ; then, in 1584, the foundation of Emmanuel ; and finally, in 1596, that of Sidney. Of more recent foundations I need not speak.

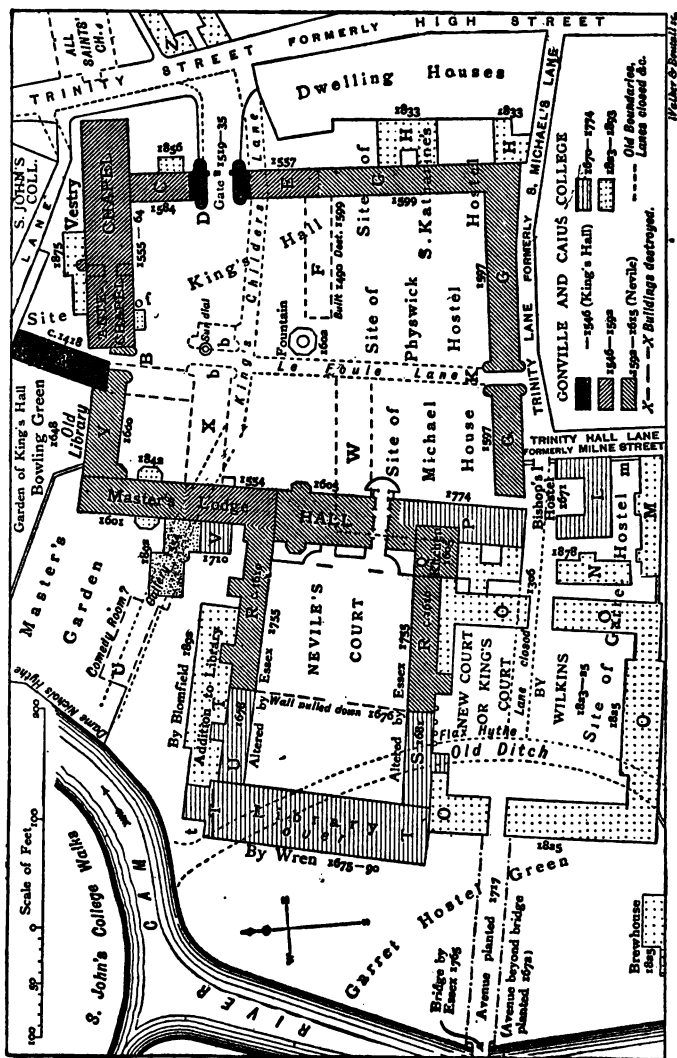
What little I want to say about the development and history of the university after the middle ages will be given incidentally in the course of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER II.

### King's Hall.

AFTER this rapid survey of the main features of the history of the university, and of the origin of colleges therein, I turn to the history of the medieval society—King's Hall—with which Trinity is directly connected.

Before entering on the details of the history of King's Hall, it may be well to describe briefly how the site of the present Old Court of Trinity and its surroundings were occupied in the middle ages. The area bounded on the north by St. John's College, on the east by houses in Trinity Street, on the south by Trinity and Garret Hostel Lanes, and on the west by the river, is now occupied by courts and walks of Trinity, as indicated by the map on p. 17. In the year 1300 it presented a very different appearance. In the first place, the river then forked just above Garret Hostel Bridge, and a narrow branch (about fifteen to twenty feet wide), known as the King's Ditch, ran to the east of the present bed (through the ground covered at present by the New and Neville's Courts), and joined the Cam again just above St. John's: this is described on the map as the 'Old Ditch.' The east bank of this ditch was used for wharfrage, and to it ran Trinity Lane (which then continued to the water's edge, over what is now the New Court), and another parallel



*Block Plan of that part of Trinity College on the west of Trinity Street.*

lane, known as King's Childer (or Childers) Lane, which, commencing in Trinity Street, passed through the rooms now used as the College Office, to the south of the sundial, and down to the water's edge. Finally, parallel to the river, and connecting Trinity Lane and King's Childer Lane, there ran (over the present path from the Queen's Gate to the sundial) a narrow street, known as Foul Lane, or sometimes as Le Foule Lane.

The area was thus split up into five plots ; namely, (a) an oval island, Garret Hostel Green, containing between two and three acres, which belonged to the town, and was not built on : (b) a rectangular strip between St. John's College and King's Childer Lane ; all of this was ultimately occupied by King's Hall : (c) a square block bounded by the King's Ditch, King's Childer Lane, Foul Lane, and Trinity Lane ; all of this finally came into the possession of Michael-House : (d) a small rectangular plot between Trinity Lane and Garret Hostel Lane, which was occupied by Oving's Inn and Garret Hostel ; this, in 1329, was purchased by Michael-House to whose grounds (the intervening lane having been shut up in 1306) it was contiguous : (e) a square block between Trinity Street, Trinity Lane, Foul Lane and King's Childer Lane ; of this the northern portion was ultimately added to King's Hall, and the south-western portion was occupied by a large house, known as Physwick's Hostel.

In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries three changes were effected in this area : first, the King's Ditch gradually silted up, and by 1423 part of it was no longer navigable by barges ; second, in 1306, the lower half of Trinity Lane (over what is now the New Court) was shut up and, as I have already mentioned, was added

to the grounds of Michael-House; third, in 1433, the upper half of King's Childer Lane was shut up, and enclosed by King's Hall. The history of this area is given fully in the work by Willis and Clark, and I need not allude to it further.

It will be seen that almost the whole of this ground came ultimately into the possession of King's Hall, Michael-House, and Physwick's Hostel. It may make what follows easier to understand if I state here that when Henry VIII decided to found a college at Cambridge he determined to locate it on this area, and to use King's Hall as its nucleus. To obtain that portion of the site not owned by King's Hall he dissolved Michael-House and took a surrender of its buildings and property, he arranged for the purchase of Physwick's Hostel, and he acquired leave to stop up Foul Lane and that part of King's Childer Lane over which any right of way then existed. Technically he also dissolved King's Hall and took a surrender of its property, but two days after the completion of the surrender he gave to the warden, the fellows (save one), and students of King's Hall corresponding positions in his new college, and restored them their former possessions, adding to them the buildings of Michael-House and Physwick's Hostel, together with considerable other property. By this transaction the Society of Michael-House was absolutely destroyed, the master and fellows being dismissed with retiring pensions. On the other hand the fellows and students of King's Hall continued the daily routine of their college life, and though some additional fellows of Trinity were nominated by Henry, they were, I believe, practically absorbed by the existing society. Hence the corporate life of King's Hall may be said to be continued in that



of Trinity, but I do not think that the same can be said of Michael-House any more than of the various dissolved monasteries with whose property Henry endowed Trinity. On the other hand Trinity owes to the liberality of Henry its wealth and position, and the increase of the foundation due to him so completely altered its character as to constitute him its true founder.

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I proceed now to describe briefly the more salient features in the internal history of King's Hall from the time of its foundation ; and I shall conclude by some remarks on the course of studies and the life of a medieval student.

The petition of the university to Edward I, which not impossibly led to the foundation of King's Hall, has been mentioned in the last chapter. We are ignorant of the exact date when the 'King's Scholars' were established here and where they were at first located: the earliest known record of their presence in Cambridge occurs in a writ issued by Edward II in 1316, from which it seems that they then comprised a warden and twelve scholars, who were living in a hired house. In 1327 we hear of them again, the number of the Society being now thirty-three, and we find that their stipends were in arrear.

About this time they narrowly escaped getting involved in a royal quarrel, for the king having given them some law books, Queen Isabella demanded that these should be handed over to her: the grounds of the demand are not apparent, but she carried them off.

The accession of Edward III in 1327 was a turning-point in the history of the Society, and it was no idle compliment that led the members of King's Hall to some-

times describe him as their founder—a description still borne on the Great Gate which he who passes may read—though their statutes show that they considered that the title was technically due to Edward II; they sometimes evaded the difficulty by describing the latter as their *proavum*, and Edward III as their *avum*.

Edward's first step, taken in 1332, was to restore discipline, which probably had become slack. He ordered the immediate removal of all scholars who were sufficiently beneficed or who were too ignorant: at the same time he tempered this purgation by directing the sheriff of the county to pay ten marks for the arrears for the previous two years of the rent of the houses which the scholars occupied, and further he gave them a sum of money as compensation for the loss of the books so peremptorily removed by his mother.

Four years later, in 1336, he purchased for them a permanent home. A traveller early in the fourteenth century who had walked from Bridge Street along Trinity Street would, after passing St. John's Hospital, have come, on his right-hand, to half a dozen houses facing Trinity Street. If on passing these he had turned down King's Childer Lane, he would have found on his left two long gardens stretching to Foul Lane, and on his right, behind the buildings in Trinity Street, a large house belonging to Robert de Croyland, Rector of Oundle, which had attached to it a considerable garden extending as far as the King's Ditch. This house and its appurtenances were purchased by Edward III for the use of the King's Scholars; it was definitely conveyed to them in 1337, from which time our account books are, save for an occasional year, complete to the present day.

Robert de Croyland's house occupied three sides of

a small quadrangle, the south side (next to King's Childer Lane) being open. The house was in two stories and thatched, the upper story (at least) being of wood. The centre block contained a hall, kitchen, and outbuildings; and the two wings comprised in all fifteen rooms, of which two were assigned to the warden as a study and bedroom, nine were assigned to two occupants each, three were assigned to three occupants each, and one room had six occupants. The Society accepted this overcrowding as a temporary measure, but steps were at once taken to improve and enlarge the building: the additions (including the erection of six new chambers, four of which were built on the south side) completed the quadrangle. These alterations were finished in 1342, when thirty-seven members were in residence. In the next year the advowson of Great St. Mary's was given them, and for many years subsequently that church was used as their chapel. In 1344 the number of chambers was still further increased, and shortly afterwards a brewhouse, bakehouse, and granary were added, while the gardens were laid out, and vines and saffron planted. The upper rooms were known as solars; and it is now generally supposed that it is to King's Hall that Chaucer refers in the 'Reeve's Tale' when he speaks of the 'great college men call the Solar Hall at Canterbrige.' This account, even if we cannot fill up the details, will give us a fair idea of the arrangement and external appearance of a medieval college in the fourteenth century.

In 1337 letters-patent dealing with the constitution of King's Hall were issued, and in the same year the pope was asked to confirm the foundation. In 1338 the allowance to the warden was fourpence a day, and to

each scholar twopence a day—this being apparently in addition to rooms and livery (*i.e.* clothes), the latter being at this time supplied from the royal wardrobe. The same allowances were confirmed in 1377.

In 1342 a commission was issued to ordain rules for the conduct of the scholars and to revise their allowances. In 1346 we find a warden and forty scholars in residence. In 1368 Edward III gave them a law library. To this bald statement of facts, the only domestic incident I can add is, that in 1373 there were such serious riots between the scholars of King's Hall and those of Clare that the university interfered, but thereupon the king intervened and ordered all the parties to appear before his council, 'to whom, submitting themselves, concord was established.'

It would seem that from the first it was intended as soon as possible to rebuild the college on a comprehensive plan, and to secure additional space. Before the death of Edward III the Society had acquired the whole of what I described above on p. 18 as block *b*, and in 1375, on the ground now occupied by *D*, Old Court and the present Common-Room, new buildings were commenced; but, as nearly fifty years were occupied by their erection, I shall defer for the moment any allusion to them.

In 1380 Richard II gave the Society a code of statutes. These he directed to be read thrice a year. Some of the provisions were as follows. Mass was to be said on every Sunday for the souls of Edward II, Edward III, and the Black Prince, and for the good estate of the king and realm. The scholars, who were to have a common table, were to be at least fourteen years of age, sufficiently instructed in the rules of grammar to be fit to study

dialectics, and their scholarships were to be avoided by entering into religion, or on obtaining a benefice or property of certain specified values: they were always to speak Latin or French. These rules indicate (as was the fact) that the House was an aristocratic foundation, and perhaps only those of gentle birth were admissible. Almost alone among medieval colleges, poverty was not required as a qualification for membership, and the sum allowed weekly to each student for commons (1s. 2d.) was nearly half as much again as at other colleges, *ex. gr.* at Gonville Hall. The disciplinary rules also indicate the presence of lads who conjoined other interests with those of learning. Among these rules I notice that students were not allowed to keep dogs in college, or to play the flute to the annoyance of their neighbours: the additional provision that no scholar should use bows, peashooters, &c., within the House—‘quod nullus scolarium praedictorum arcu, fistula, aut balista infra mansum uti praesumat, nec alio quocumque ludo, scolaribus inhonesto, aut collegio nostro dampnoso vel nocivo’—must commend itself to every one of mature age.

These statutes, conjoined with what we know of the university regulations, and supplemented where necessary by corresponding statutes of other colleges, enable us to form a fair picture of what life in King's Hall was like. Some of the rules, even when they had become obsolete, were reinserted in later codes, but at the time when they were first promulgated they doubtless accorded with the facts.

In 1383 a royal commission was sent to investigate charges against the warden to the effect that he had permitted the buildings to decay, that he had wasted some of the estates, dissipated and lost books, plate, and other

goods, and had diminished the number of the scholars: but what was the result of this inquiry I do not know.

Richard Holme, who was warden from 1417 to 1424, hastened the completion of the new court near the west end of the present chapel, which had been so long in building; he added to it, at his own cost, a library, and gave several books. This court was built of stone, and tiled. It was in the shape of a quadrangle (the interior area being about forty feet by forty feet) and cloistered on the north and west sides; hence it was known as the Cloister Court. There were also some annexes. It contained a dining-hall, parlour, library, oratory, and kitchen, as well as chambers. Some fragments of the work on the west side of this court are still standing (marked *A* in the map given above on p. 17).

In 1426-33 the present Clock Tower was erected as the principal entrance to the college. It fronted Foul Lane (on the site marked *bb* on the map), and the sundial indicates approximately its original location: the tower was moved in 1600, stone by stone, to its present position (marked *B* on the map). On the west side of it was situated a block of buildings, about ninety feet long, parallel to Foul Lane, and running down to the south-west corner of the Cloister Court. In 1438 Robert de Croyland's house (or a large part of it) seems to have been pulled down, and probably this marked the completion of the new college buildings.

In 1438-40 another tower, surmounted by a ball and vane, was placed near the Clock Tower, but we know nothing now of what this was like. Various other minor building operations were undertaken in the next six or seven years.

While this work was in progress, the college was also enlarging the area available for future extensions. In

1417, 1430, and 1433, the Society acquired on lease or in fee the northern part of block *e* fronting on King's Childer Lane, and some eighty feet deep, and in the last-mentioned year they also obtained that part of King's Childer Lane which lay between Foul Lane and Trinity Street, with power to enclose it. As to the rest of block *e*, it will be remembered that the south-western part (facing Foul Lane, between Trinity Lane and King's Hall), was ultimately occupied by Physwick's Hostel, which belonged to Gonville Hall, and was used as a sort of annexe in which they located some thirty or forty of their students; the plot behind and to the east of this hostel was occupied by St. Katherine's Hostel, the Angel Inn, and probably by some small shops (it belonged to Michael-House); and again still further to the east were houses in Trinity Street.

The success and energy of the Society at this period almost brought about its destruction, for in 1447 Henry VI, in pursuance of his policy to aggrandize Eton and King's Colleges, empowered their provosts to nominate to the wardenship and all the scholarships of King's Hall, and to act as visitors. It may be noted that the action was the more ungenerous as the king had enjoyed the hospitality of the Society in 1445, 1447, 1448-9, and 1452-3. In 1461 Edward IV succeeded to the throne, and the previous rights and liberties of King's Hall were restored.

In 1465, after the close of this untoward incident, the Society commenced the erection of a chapel on part of the site of our present one. In 1489 they built a block of chambers parallel to King's Childer Lane and on the southern boundary of the ground acquired between 1417 and 1433 (marked *F* in the map on p. 17). Finally, in

1518, they began the Great Gate (marked *D* in the map) which still forms the principal entrance to the college. By a curious heraldic blunder they put the supporters of the shield of Edward IV, namely, two black bulls, to that of Edward III.

In 1534 the external income of King's Hall was returned at £211 12s. 8½*d.* Of this the master received for stipend, commons, and livery £8 7s. 4*d.*, thirty-one fellows got £5 4s. 0*d.* each, one fellow got £4 9s. 0*d.*, and the bible clerk received £2 8s. 0*d.* In 1546 the Society's yearly income was returned at £214 0s. 3*d.*, and the expenses at £263 16s. 7*d.* Probably the income was not overestimated. The normal expenditure (on the assumption that the servants were in continuous residence throughout the year) is summarized below, and amounts to £265 16s. 8*d.*, to which the Society said a sum of £10 ought to be added for extraordinary expenses. Of course rooms were occupied rent free.

*Normal Expenditure of King's Hall in 1546.*

	£	s.	d.
Management of Estates, Fees, Outrents . . . . .	3	1	10
Repairs . . . . .	26	13	4
Exequies, Feasts, and Alms . . . . .	5	10	4
Master's Emoluments . . . . .	8	13	4
Senior Fellows' Emoluments: 25 @ £5 10s. 0 <i>d.</i> each .	137	10	0
Junior Fellows' Emoluments: 7 @ £5 5s. 0 <i>d.</i> each .	36	15	0
Bible Clerk . . . . .	2	19	4
College Servants (viz. Butler, Barber, Baker, Brewer, Laundress, Cook, Under-Cook, Master's Servant) .	30	5	4
Expenses of Chapel Service . . . . .	1	0	0
Firing for Hall and Kitchen . . . . .	5	0	0
Sedge for the Hall . . . . .	5	0	0
Purchase of Utensils . . . . .	2	8	0
Oblations . . . . .	1	0	2
	<hr/> <hr/>		
	£265	16	8



I have never found time to go into the question as to how far it is feasible to construct a roll of the members of King's Hall. The names of a few are fairly obvious to mention: Rotherham was warden from 1475 to 1477; and Urswyke the diplomatist (who was at one time or another our ambassador to France, Spain, Burgundy, Scotland, Sicily, and Rome) was warden from 1483 to 1488. Tunstal and Record, the two most distinguished English mathematicians of the first half of the sixteenth century, were also members; but of those who lived in earlier times I know practically nothing.

The number of residents in 1546 was returned at fifty: probably this return was confined to members of the foundation and to servants (whether sizars or not) in permanent employment, and was exclusive of fellow-commoners and pensioners (if any). The number of these latter is not known; in 1544 three fellow-commoners matriculated, but no subsequent entries are recorded. My readers may be surprised that I reckon the servants among the members of the House, but they were always esteemed as such; it may be added that, by the interpretation given on May 20, 1554, of the matriculation statute of May 11 of that year, all servants of scholars were required to matriculate as members of the university.

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This sketch of the history of King's Hall deals, however, only with the outside aspect of its life: the question of the studies, the amusements, and the daily occupations of its members still remains. Our predecessors were of the same race as we are; they had aspirations similar to those of the student of to-day. That the accommodation was more scanty, that life was rougher, that fuel and

lights were luxuries are details, not essentials ; and even the fact—important though it is—that the subjects and methods of instruction were different is not everything. Much is obscure, but I proceed to give, as far as I can, an outline of the studies and occupations of a student at Cambridge during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

To begin with, we must remember that in medieval times the students came up at very varying ages—a large number between eleven and fourteen—perhaps the normal age of entry being about thirteen. The limit of age at King's Hall was fourteen. I do not know how a student obtained a place on the foundation of King's Hall, but I conjecture that it was by nomination followed by some qualifying test: it is not unlikely that pensioners were occasionally admitted as a matter of favour, but in any case they were not numerous. The students at King's Hall, and perhaps at all colleges, aspired to a degree in arts, and would not have been allowed to graduate in either of the inferior faculties of grammar and rhetoric.

The first three or four years of residence of a collegian were usually devoted to the trivium, namely, Latin, logic, and rhetoric: during this period he was, for most purposes, regarded as a schoolboy, but at the same time he was treated as a member of the community, and though subject to the common discipline he had recognized rights and privileges.

At the end of this time the student, then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, was admitted to the title of bachelor, and the next four or three years were supposed to be devoted to the quadrivium (mathematics, music, and astronomy or astrology), but in practice were usually given up to logic, metaphysics, and philosophical questions

connected with theology. The bachelors took part in the instruction of the younger students, and for disciplinary purposes occupied a position somewhat similar to that of undergraduates nowadays.

At the end of the seventh year from entry the student, who had performed all necessary acts and exercises, could proceed to the degree of master: we may think of him as being by this time about twenty-one years of age. He was then, for at least one year, obliged to lecture in the university. If he continued in residence he would probably proceed in due course to degrees in other faculties, and to the end of his career he was constantly employed in keeping acts or presiding at them. An 'act' consisted in effect of a debate in Latin, thrown into a syllogistic form; it was commenced by one student, the 'respondent,' stating some proposition, often propounded in the form of a thesis, which was attacked by one or more 'opponents,' the discussion being presided over and ruled by a chairman or 'moderator.' The 'lectures' given by regents and bachelors generally consisted merely of dictation of textbooks, or of formal analyses of sentences in such books, but sometimes a sentence was thrown into the form of a proposition, which was defended against all objections.

Such is the outline of the course in arts prescribed by the medieval university. It is probable that nearly all the students at King's Hall took it in its entirety, but it is open to doubt whether the large majority of students living in lodgings or hostels completed it. It is likely that (as at Oxford) graces exempting from compliance with all the regulations were offered and approved if there were reasonable grounds for the application, and that considerable elasticity was thus introduced into the system.

To realize the life of a medieval collegian we ought to compare it with that of his contemporaries who lived in lodgings or in private hostels. Students in lodgings were subject to but little control on the part of the university, and their use of this liberty constantly led to disorders of all kinds, but it would seem that among them (as in the hostels), there was a well-defined code of etiquette which regulated conduct on many questions. The students in hostels lived under the care of a master of arts, who on all domestic affairs acted jointly with one of the students elected by themselves; the whole society forming a sort of unendowed but permanent association: the discipline depended mainly on the student monitor, the instruction on the character of the master.

Collegians lived, however, under a stricter rule, and, enjoying the constant society and companionship of the senior members of the corporation, were less subject to the disorders so generally rife in schools and streets. It was usual in colleges to exact an oath of obedience to the authorities, and a pledge for the performance of the statutable exercises at their proper times. Assistance was, however, given in preparing for these trials, and, in particular, numerous domestic 'acts' were kept, at which all the members were expected to be present, and in which they had at different times to take part: these were supposed to be only supplemental to the instruction which it was the duty of the university to provide, but the latter was inefficient, and, as time went on, the real teaching fell more and more into the hands of college and hostel officials.

The medieval colleges and hostels would no doubt seem to us to afford but rough accommodation to their

occupants, but they were fairly comfortable according to the standard of their day. There was usually a common sitting-room or hall, where on certain occasions a fire was provided. At the better hostels a lad could hire a bedroom for his sole use, at a cost of from 7s. 6d. to 13s. 4d. a year; near the end of the thirteenth century his board came to about 1s. 6d. to 2s. a week, his tuition to about £1 6s. 8d. a year, and his clothes to about £1 a year, to which something for university fees would have to be added. From a few extant accounts it would seem that the total expenditure at a hostel at this time could not be reduced much below £9 a year, and that anything beyond £15 a year was a handsome allowance. It is arguable that the modern equivalents of these totals do not differ much from the cost of a university education at the present time. At a college the board, lodging, and livery were commonly met out of the corporate funds; additional allowances were dependent on residence, but generally were sufficient to supply all necessities.

A college possessed one great advantage over even the best of the hostels, inasmuch as it usually contained a library where students could find the text-books of the day, a highly valued privilege. On the other hand there were fewer luxuries. The younger students were often forced to sleep three or four in a room, which also served as their study, and was not only unwarmed but often unglazed. As to discipline, the colleges generally required their members to speak nothing but Latin (or in a few cases French) in hall and on all formal occasions except the great festivals of the Church—this was a real nuisance. Moreover, until a student of a college became a bachelor, it was supposed that he was not allowed to go out of college bounds unless accompanied by a graduate.

A bachelor had much the same freedom as an undergraduate nowadays, except that usually he occupied but one room, which he had to share with another man, and only a fellow of considerable standing could be sure of having a chamber to himself.

Perhaps on a typical day a collegian may have attended early mass (though this was not compulsory), and then having breakfasted (if he could afford it), he performed exercises or attended lectures until, say, 9.30. About 10.0 he dined in hall, and after a brief rest was obliged to work again for about a couple of hours. If he escaped having to spend the afternoon in attending or keeping acts he could use it in exercise or as he willed. Supper was commonly served in the hall about 5.0, and probably the evening was spent in roaming the streets, in mock acts, or sometimes in amusements round the fire. Possibly light refreshments were obtainable before the evening antiphon, after which came bed. Meat was provided at dinner and supper except in Lent. The monotony of collegiate life was relieved by entrance feasts on the admission of a new member, funeral feasts in memory of the virtues of former benefactors, and numerous stately ceremonies and functions on saints' days and other special occasions.

Many of the students—and probably most of those resident in college—stayed up during the vacations, or at least those at Christmas and Easter. The rigour of discipline was then somewhat relaxed, and in particular it was not unusual to perform plays and give other entertainments. The theatricals at Michael-House seem to have been specially famous and popular.

The amusements of the students were much what we should expect from English lads. Contests with the

cross-bow were common, and cock-fighting—at any rate in the hostels—was not unusual. To the more adventurous student (even of mature age) the opportunity of a fight with other gownsmen or with townsmen was always open, and too often ended in serious bloodshed. The riots of 1261, 1322, and 1381 were particularly violent and were hardly distinguishable from civil war: in the course of them the mob burnt some of the hostels, and the charters and documents of the university as well as of such colleges as they were able to sack—a misfortune which has seriously hampered us in reconstructing our early history. Fishing was popular, and perhaps not the less so because it was exercised in violation of the rights of the town. Besides these amusements, tournaments and fairs were constantly held in the immediate neighbourhood, to the detriment of discipline but to the pleasure of the younger students, to whom they afforded opportunity for plenty of excitement. Among the more wealthy members of the university, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, tennis, and riding seem to have been favoured; but some of the college statutes enjoin that a daily walk with a companion, and conversation ‘on scholarship or some proper and pleasant topic,’ should if possible be enforced. Ragging seems to have been always known, and perhaps is peculiar to the English universities as a recognized recreation of those *in statu pupillari*. Chess and games with dice were familiar indoor pastimes, though most likely they were illicit pleasures. It should be noted that many of the above amusements were against the rules, though the fact that they were constantly forbidden is rather an indication that they were not unknown than that they were never enjoyed.

Of the amusements of the graduates we speak with

less certainty—probably some of the dons were mere recluses, but riding, hunting, hawking, and tennis were not unusual. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the number of residents was considerably increased by middle-aged clergy who were attracted by the gaieties and amenities of the social life: they passed their time in gossiping, 'idleness, and in other pastimes and indolent pleasures,' and finally the scandal reached such a pitch that parliament (in 1536) ordered all beneficed clergy who were over forty years of age to return to their cures, and all under forty to give evidence of studious habits by regular attendance at lectures and acts. I mention this because it shows that life here had a social as well as an intellectual side, and there is no reason to think that this does not apply to centuries earlier than the sixteenth.

The students dressed much like other Englishmen of the same period. Efforts to enforce the use of an ecclesiastical robe were sometimes made, but seem to have been always evaded. Perhaps knee-breeches, a coat (the cut of which varied at different times) bound round the waist with a belt, stockings, and shoes (not boots) fairly represent the visible part of the dress of an average student at an average time. The dress of a boy at Christ's Hospital may be compared with this. To this attire most students seem to have added a cloak edged or lined with fur, which often found its way into the university chest as a pledge for loans advanced. Girdles, shoes, rings, &c., varied with the fashion of the day. Sumptuary rules were probably enforced less strictly at King's Hall and at hostels than at the other colleges.

It would appear that a gown or some similar distinctive dress has always been worn at Cambridge, at any rate by graduates, but the cut, colour, and material have varied at



different times. At King's Hall the younger students wore, or were supposed to wear, a *robam talarem decentem et honestam pro statu clericali*, and the bachelors a *robam cum tabardo gradui suo competentem*. Masters and doctors wore a square cap or a biretta, but it seems likely that the junior students went bareheaded: the earliest reference to caps being worn by undergraduates as a part of their academical dress occurs in the sixteenth century. The cut of the B.A. hood has not varied from the thirteenth century, except that the two ends were formerly sewn together instead of being connected by a string as is now usual. In the middle ages, the hood was lined with wool and not with rabbit-skin. The shape is different to that used in other universities, as it includes what is called a tippet. The M.A. hood for regents was the same as at present. The hoods of non-regents were of the same shape, but lined with black. The proctors wore the hood squared, as they do now: and the scrutators and taxors had the same privilege.

## CHAPTER III.

### **The Foundation and Rise of Trinity.**

I HAVE now brought my sketch down to the early years of the sixteenth century. The invention of printing, the discovery of a new world, the revival of learning, and especially the outcry against Roman abuses, made a deep impression on men of all classes, and it must have been evident that the university was on the eve of great changes. An important indication of the new spirit was to be found in the rise at Cambridge of a large party who advocated sweeping reforms in ecclesiastical matters. The fact that the great majority of the leaders of the reformation movement came from Cambridge materially affected our college and university, and our history during the sixteenth century is closely connected with that of the anglican party in the State.

After the fall in 1529 of Wolsey, who had not concealed his hostility to Cambridge, Henry VIII and Cromwell naturally turned towards the school which provided for them in their struggle champions such as Cranmer of Jesus and Latimer of Clare. It was not, however, till the final breach with Rome in 1534, and Fisher's execution in 1535, that the all-powerful Cromwell became chancellor of the university. He at once issued nine injunctions,

requiring, *inter alia*, an acknowledgment of the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, replacing lectures on the *Sententiae* by lectures on the Scriptures, and directing King's Hall, and certain other colleges, to establish two daily public lectures, one of Greek, the other of Latin. This was followed by an order to the university and colleges to surrender all their property to await the royal pleasure.

These injunctions abruptly terminated the medieval system of education. During the next thirty-five years there were constant changes and great confusion; at the end of that period we find the non-collegiate students no longer recognized, the colleges immensely developed, the modern system of instruction by classes and professional lecturers established, and the university practically ruled by a close oligarchy of heads instead of by a democratic senate of masters. This period also saw the foundation of Trinity and its rise to a position in the university which has not since been seriously challenged.

The material interests of the university were deeply involved in the general policy of the Crown. The suppression of the smaller monasteries, in 1536, was followed in the next two years by that of the larger societies, and the dissolution of the numerous conventual houses in Cambridge led to the removal from the university and town of a considerable and important body of residents. The university and several colleges tried to secure the monastic buildings thus vacated as gifts, or at any rate on easy terms—some such grants were made, and procured very cheaply considerable support for the royal policy. This expulsion of scholars for sectarian reasons synchronized with the removal of the richer classes for disciplinary reasons (see above, p. 35) and reduced the

numbers of the university to a lower level than had been known for a long time.

The stress produced by falling numbers fell heavily on the unendowed and non-incorporated hostels. Many of them disappeared for lack of students, but I think it not unlikely that in some cases the occupants of a hostel were permitted to place their names on the books of the college to which it belonged, and if so the hostel would easily become an annexe of the college, either by the recognition of its head as a college official, or by the purchase of his interest in it. Be this as it may, the hostels shortly after this time did in fact disappear as independent bodies, nor did they ever really revive. When the numbers of the university began to increase again, undergraduates were admitted directly to the colleges, and thenceforth the colleges are the striking feature in our organization. Education and effective discipline fell wholly into their hands—the university being content to do little more than retain the exclusive right to confer degrees after testing the qualifications of candidates.

Cromwell fell in 1539, and in 1540 was succeeded as chancellor by Gardiner of Trinity Hall, who held the post till 1547. His tenure of the office was a period of much anxiety and danger. Immediately on his appointment, courtiers, on the plea of the declining numbers and influence of the universities, began to urge their suppression and the division of their property. The leaders of the incipient agitation were rebuked by Henry, in an oft-repeated conversation. Nor were his opinions limited to words, for in 1540 he founded the five regius professorships—a step that may be said to have initiated the system of university education by professional

teachers which has superseded the medieval system of instruction by regents. This was an earnest of his goodwill to the university, but his intentions in regard to the colleges were still unknown, and natural alarm was felt when, in 1544, a bill empowering the Crown to dissolve them was introduced into parliament. Thanks to a suggestion of Sir Thomas Smith of Queens' College, regius professor of Greek, clerk to the Queen's Council, and a favourite with both king and queen, matters were stayed until a royal commission should report on the subject. The commission was issued on Jan. 16, 1546, to Parker, Master of Corpus; Redman, Warden of King's Hall and royal chaplain; and Mey, President of Queens' College. Within three months they reported in a friendly spirit on the endowments and the work done therewith. The king received the report graciously, and his conversational comments on it have been preserved.

In fact, Henry's decision had been already taken (perhaps as early as 1539) not only that there should be no interference with the endowments here, but that he should be remembered by posterity as a munificent patron of learning. On Feb. 26, 1546, the queen, in a public letter to the university on the appointment of the commission, assured them that it was the royal desire rather to advance learning and 'erecte new occasion thereof than to confound those your ancyent and godly institutions.'

As soon as the commission had reported, the royal intentions took practical shape. In May or June workmen began the demolition of the great establishment of the Franciscans (on the site of Sidney Sussex College), in order to provide materials for 'the King's Majestie's New College,' which was to be engrafted on King's Hall, and

erected on the sites of that House, of Michael-House \*, of Physwick's Hostel, and of the building at the back of

\* I have already stated that I do not consider that the corporate life of MICHAEL-HOUSE was continued in that of Trinity, but its buildings, library, muniments, and property were transferred by Henry to his new college, and therefore it may be convenient here to give as briefly as possible the leading features in its history.

Michael-House had been founded in 1324 by Hervey de Stanton, one of the most distinguished lawyers and statesmen of the time of Edward II. It was intended for a master and six scholars of narrow means, and its original statutes gave it a religious and mildly ascetic tone which was faithfully reflected in its subsequent history: all the scholars were required to be in orders within one year from the time of their admission.

Hervey purchased for his foundation a large house standing on the site of the grass plot in the Old Court in front of the combination-room and lying in the corner between Trinity Lane and Foul Lane. It had belonged to Roger Buttertorte, and seems to have been built round three sides of a quadrangle with the open side to Foul Lane: it had a garden stretching down to the King's Ditch. The principal entrance was in Trinity Lane at the corner by Foul Lane. It contained a dozen rooms besides a hall, kitchen, &c., but this amply sufficed for the wants of the Society. The House owned the advowson of St. Michael's Church, and used that building as their chapel.

Within thirty years the Society had, with one insignificant exception, acquired the whole of the sites *c* and *d* indicated above on p. 18. On this land stood three houses—Oving's Inn, Garret Hostel, and St. Gregory's Hostel—which were treated by Michael-House as investments, and leased to masters who used them as private hostels.

The chief subsequent facts in the history of Michael-House, other than those concerned with the acquisition and management of property, may be indicated very shortly.

In 1330 two additional fellowships were established by John de Illegh. In 1365 William de Gotham spent £130 in building twelve sets of rooms and a kitchen. Probably these were erected on the site of Buttertorte's house, which we must therefore suppose to have been, by this time, pulled down. The new building (like that which it replaced) was in the form of three sides of a quadrangle.

the last-named, which was known as St. Katherine's. Moreover, in order to unite the buildings physically,

As far as we can judge, the south wing had one gate facing Trinity Hall Lane near staircase Q, Old Court, and another gate near staircase P. On this side (possibly between these two gates) were four chambers, presumably on one staircase. The north wing contained eight chambers, and on the north of it were stables and a kitchen garden. The central or west block of the court contained the hall, kitchen, common room, library, and master's chamber, while the space between this block and the river was laid out as a garden. The east side (next to Foul Lane) was closed by a blank wall. Gotham also gave a large library of books.

In 1386 we come across the earliest record of College theatricals in the payment by the House for an embroidered cloak, six visors, and six beards for the comedy.

In 1397 the Society got a supplementary statute to check the arbitrary power of the master, and to provide for a periodical audit. Probably the master acted, in virtue of his office, as steward and bursar.

John Otrynham, master from 1423 to 1433, compiled a record of the muniments and possessions of the college. This book is preserved in our muniment room, and is one of the main sources for the early history of Michael-House. Otrynham was also a benefactor of the House, and his services were commemorated annually by a grateful college on the second of the ides of May.

In 1429 the Society laid down rules for the assignment of rooms which seem to indicate that only twelve chambers were then habitable. The famous Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, who was executed by Henry VIII in 1535, was master from 1495 to 1505, and in 1497 he gave £110 towards the cost of a new building the nature of which is not known. About this time numerous other benefactions of plate, money, land, and books were given, and the foundation, which hitherto had been much hampered by poverty, became comparatively wealthy.

In 1534 the annual income of the House was returned at £124 15s. 6d. In 1546 it was returned at £141 13s. 1½d. and the expenses at £143 18s. The normal expenses were stated as £136 2s. 11d., to which it was said a sum of £6 6s. 8d. ought to

power was obtained, with the consent of the town, to enclose Foul Lane and the lower half of King's Childer Lane. The whole area was thus enclosed in a ring fence.

In October, King's Hall and Michael-House were called on to surrender their property, and on Dec. 17 the legal formalities connected with these surrenders were completed. Two days later, on Dec. 19, 1546, Trinity College was founded by royal charter.

In the charter of dotation, dated Dec. 24, the annual revenues assigned to Trinity are enumerated; the totals consist of £85 12s. 7d. from King's Hall, £144 3s. 1½d. from Michael-House, and £1410 4s. 3½d. (net) granted by the king, mainly out of the revenues of dissolved religious houses. It will be seen from this that though the Society of King's Hall was the nucleus of the new foundation, yet they provided but a small fraction of its property, and

be added for extraordinary outlays. Of course the rooms were occupied rent free. It is noticeable that most of the fellows received more than the master. On the dissolution of the Society, the master and most of the fellows were pensioned, the former receiving as much as £20 a year.

The number of residents in 1546 was returned at twenty-one, and if servants are included this agrees with the summary issued by the royal commission. But between May, 1544, and November, 1546, no less than forty-eight new members of the House matriculated, of whom ten were under fourteen years of age. Now the usual course, including the year of regency, lasted a little over eight years: hence if the entry in 1544-6 was a normal one, the total number of residents, including fellows, must have been somewhere about 150; but probably this is considerably in excess of the actual number. It is clear that in the House itself there was no suitable accommodation for any such body of students, and the matriculation of so many members tends to confirm the view expressed above (see p. 39), that students began at this time to be allowed to enter their names on the books of a college, even though they lived outside its walls in hostels or lodgings.



that Trinity owed to Henry the site and wealth which gave it opportunity for due development. The foundation of Trinity was among the last of his public acts, and his death in the following month (Jan. 28, 1547) occurred before all the arrangements connected with the transfer to it of its endowment had been completed. The House was fortunate in possessing, in so anxious a time, a head as able as Redman. His efforts—seconded perhaps by those of Somerset, the then chancellor—saved for the college the bulk of its property which had attracted the envious attention of those who ruled in the name of the boy-king.

The Society was to consist of a master with sixty fellows and scholars. Redman was appointed master. Of the thirty-two fellows and scholars of King's Hall, thirty-one were nominated to fellowships and scholarships at Trinity; the twenty-nine vacancies were filled by royal nomination, but it is doubtful if all the nominees accepted the offer. The intention to make the foundation a centre for the propagation of the tenets of the reformed faith is indicated in the charter, and is confirmed by the fact that all the new members of the foundation are said to have been protestants. Of the original sixty members of the foundation, eleven were graduates in divinity and at least ten were undergraduates, that is, under the standing of B.A.: it is difficult to determine the exact academic position of the others.

As far as we can judge, the dissolution of King's Hall and the constitution of Trinity caused no break in the continuity of college life, and doubtless when, by a stroke of the pen, the warden, fellows, and scholars of King's Hall were created master, fellows, and scholars of Trinity, they continued to occupy their old rooms and did not

alter their daily pursuits. To them the change must have seemed little more than the affording of splendid opportunities for future extension on a large scale, coupled with a considerable immediate addition to their numbers and property. Even the new title did not at once entirely supplant the old name: thus, as late as 1589, the All Saints' Parish Register contains an entry of the burial of Pgrave, 'a scholler of Kings Haule otherwyse called trinitye colledge.'

No facts are known which would lead us to suppose that the number of residents in King's Hall was increased, except by the addition of such of the twenty-nine members nominated by the Crown as did not previously belong to the Society, but it would be reasonable to think that former members of Michael-House would have been readily admitted and welcomed as members of Trinity. In any case the vacated chambers of Physwick's Hostel and Michael-House must have provided ample accommodation for all the new members. In 1548 there were in residence 110 members of the foundation, which doubtless included servants and the choir: the number of pensioners and fellow-commoners is not known, but (considering the terms of the statutes of 1552) is not likely to have exceeded sixty.

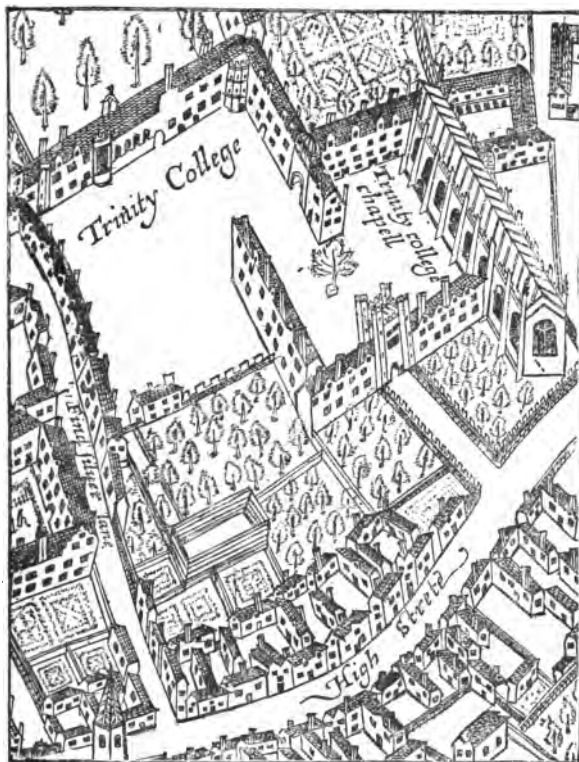
The chapel of King's Hall was large enough to be used as the chapel of the new Society, but the available dining accommodation was somewhat limited, and one of the earliest acts of the reconstituted college was to enlarge the old hall of Michael-House (which was near the site of the present kitchen), utilize or build kitchens to the north of it near the site of the present hall, and perhaps add a combination room. This, in a rough sort of way, completed the west side of the Court.

The next effort of the Society was to connect the scattered buildings of Michael-House and Physwick's Hostel, and reduce them to order. The chambers which bordered Trinity Lane (say on the sites of *L* to *Q*, Old Court) were left standing and joined by a gateway called the *porta honoris*, on the site of the present Queen's gate and over the roadway of the disused Foul Lane: the remaining chambers seem to have been pulled down. To the immediate east of the block thus formed a wall was built abutting on Trinity Lane. A little north of this, and on the grass-plot in front of the present staircase *L* or *M*, stood a small house known as Edith's Hostel, which was left undisturbed. Behind it were some trees, at the back of these a tennis-court, and behind that again houses in Trinity Street. These alterations were finished by 1554, and completed the south side of the court.

On the north side, the Cloister Court of King's Hall and some buildings running westwards from the master's lodge to the river were left untouched, but in 1554 an additional lath-and-plaster building was put up near them. These blocks contained apartments for the master and for the use of fellows, and probably included a parlour, may-be in addition to the other combination room. In the next year the college built a set of chambers, staircase *G*, on the east side of the court (marked *E* on the map given above on p. 17) to meet the block which projected into the court, and connected it by a blank wall with Edith's Hostel. Hamond's map in our library shows the effect of these alterations.

The prosperity and reputation of the college steadily increased, but its internal condition presented problems of grave anxiety to those responsible for its guidance. The state of the university reflected the general dis-

order which prevailed throughout the country. Besides the bitter religious dissensions already beginning, the right of patronage of scholarships and fellowships in



*From Hamond's Map, 1592.*

several colleges is said to have been abused by the presentation of unworthy candidates, and at the same time the spoliation of the property of grammar schools

throughout the country deprived the university of many of its most promising students, while the advent of a considerable number of scions of wealthy and noble houses is said to have created difficulties in maintaining discipline. The question of discipline concerned us, but in other matters the state of affairs in Trinity was less bad than in the rest of the university, for its prestige, as well as the large number of graduates in residence, tended to enable it to maintain its position. But one college cannot prosper if the university is inefficient, and there seemed at this time to be a real danger that at the university the new learning and the reformed faith might alike perish.

Henry had died before he had time to draw up statutes for Trinity; and probably at first it was governed as though those of King's Hall were binding. Meanwhile the statutes of the university were recast by a royal commission (1549). By the new code, which, save for two or three years, remained in force till 1570, undergraduates were required to read mathematics, dialectics, and philosophy; bachelors were to study philosophy, perspective, astronomy, and Greek; and masters were to act as regents for three years. Disputations were to be regularly held. Discipline was to be rendered more stringent. These regulations were of course binding on students of all colleges alike.

The commission further appointed a committee to prepare statutes for Trinity, and the result of their labours was issued in 1552. These statutes deal with the organization of the college, the rules to be observed by its members, and the rights and duties of the various officers. Under them the number of fellows was fixed at fifty, that of scholars at sixty; that of pensioners was not to

exceed fifty-four. It was ordained that every pupil should be under a tutor, who was responsible, not only for his instruction, but also for seeing that he paid his bills once a month.

The accession of Mary (1553) was marked by a strong effort to restore the old regime. Gardiner was reappointed chancellor, and all statutes and ordinances made since the death of Henry were revoked. Redman had died in 1551, and the mastership of Trinity was now filled by a somewhat advanced reformer, William Bill, who had resigned the mastership of St. John's to accept that of Trinity. Under the royal directions Bill was expelled; extraordinary though it may seem, the expulsion was physical, and an astonished college saw its master forcibly dragged from his stall in chapel by two of the fellows.

His successor, John Christopherson, although somewhat of a fanatic, was a man of high character and personally popular with the Society—indeed they had taken the unusual step of granting him an allowance when (on the accession of Edward) he had retired to the continent. As soon as he was installed, he was empowered, with the aid of the seniority, to prepare new statutes; these were drawn up Nov. 12, 1554, but apparently were never signed or made effective.

Christopherson was chaplain and confessor to the queen. Probably it is largely due to his influence that, though her sympathies were chiefly with Oxford, she showed so much interest in our college. She increased its endowment by a gift of lands, producing £338 a year, which served to found additional scholarships besides some sizarships. She was moreover specially anxious that it should possess a larger chapel and one more fitted for an elaborate service, and on her initiative

the present building was commenced in 1556: it ought to have been completed by the end of 1557, but the contractor got into pecuniary difficulties, and the work dragged on for nearly ten years. It is difficult to determine how much was contributed to its cost or the total expense to the college, but many of the fittings (organ, lectern, &c.) were taken from the former chapel, and most of the materials were old.

The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 was marked by an unseemly controversy at St. Paul's Cross, London, between Christopherson and his predecessor, in consequence of which Christopherson was committed to prison. He died there a few months later, but he had previously resigned the mastership, and Bill had been reinstated in the office, which he held until his death in 1661.

A royal commission was appointed in 1559, and by the advice of Cecil (who was appointed chancellor in succession to Gardiner) the university was restored, as far as was practicable, to the position it had occupied at Edward's death. In 1560 statutes framed by the commission were given to Trinity: these remained in force until 1844. The Society now consisted of a master, sixty fellows, sixty-two scholars, thirteen sizars, besides chaplains and other officers: it was therefore more than double the size originally contemplated by Henry. No limit was placed on the number of pensioners. All fellows had unfurnished rooms, commons, an allowance for livery, and a stipend varying from £2 13s. 4d. a year for a master of arts to £5 for a doctor of divinity: the master had the use of a lodge (I conjecture unfurnished) and £100 a year for commons, livery, and stipend. The money stipend of an undergraduate scholar seems to have been about 17s. 4d. a year. Besides the deans

and bursars, provision was made for a head lecturer, lecturers on Greek, mathematics, and humanity, and form lecturers.

The statutes of 1552 and 1560 regulated the daily life of members of the House in minute detail. It would seem that an undergraduate was expected to rise at half-past four o'clock, and (after saying his private prayers) to attend chapel service at five. He then adjourned to the hall for breakfast, during which meal scripture was read, and after it an exposition thereon was given. From six to nine the lessons learnt on the previous day had to be recited and those for the next day learnt—the subjects of study being those already indicated. At nine the students were in general expected to proceed to the public schools, either to hear lectures, or to listen to or take part in the public disputations. Dinner was served at eleven, and at one o'clock the students returned to their attendance on the declamations and exercises in the schools. From three until six in the afternoon they were at liberty to pursue their amusements or their private studies: at six o'clock they supped in hall and immediately afterwards retired, or were supposed to retire, to their chambers: there was no evening service on ordinary days until the reign of James I. Their seats in chapel, their behaviour at home and abroad, their dress, their incoming and outgoing, and even their games were prescribed, and the punishments for breaches of rules defined.

It is doubtful whether these statutes ever represented the practice of the college, or were more than a codification of old rules and a statement as to what was deemed desirable. It was unfortunate—as was but too well proved under the rules of Whitgift and Bentley—that



enactments should have been made which were almost uniformly broken.

The queen also showed her interest in the college by issuing a commission (1560) for procuring by compulsion materials and labour for completing the chapel and library. The chapel was finished in 1566. The library (marked Y on the map given above on p. 17), now converted into the rooms C, 3, Old Court, was commenced, somewhat later, and was finished only in 1601. Until then the college used the library of King's Hall, probably now converted into the rooms D, Old Court.

After so long a period of strife and such violent changes, it is not surprising that passion ran high on religious questions. Hitherto Cambridge, which had educated Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Tyndale, and many of their followers, had been the headquarters of the reformers, but it was now rapidly coming under the influence of a party that desired further changes on presbyterian lines. At first the puritans seemed likely to succeed in securing control of the university, but the violence of their leaders finally alienated the more moderate men.

On Bill's death, the Crown offered the mastership to Robert Beaumont, a calvinist whose opinions were more pronounced than Cecil supposed at the time of his appointment. Beaumont sympathized with the puritans, but he was not a man of sufficient force of character to guide them. Their leader here—and ultimately in the country too—was Thomas Cartwright; and it is for his rise that Beaumont's mastership is chiefly remarkable.

Born in 1535, Cartwright had been educated at Clare and St. John's; he had then found employment as

a lawyer's clerk, but on Mary's death had returned to Cambridge. In 1562 he was elected to a fellowship at Trinity, and definitely took up his residence here. His eloquence, dialectical skill, and earnestness attracted numerous followers, and his influence in the college is indicated by his being within two years appointed a 'senior.'

In 1564 Beaumont—possibly at Cartwright's instigation—expressed his disapproval of students taking part in those dramatic representations which for centuries had been a prominent feature in our social life at Christmas and other festivals, and which from this time forward were regarded by precisians with marked disapproval. It was a trivial act, but indicative of the evolution of a new school of thought and morals.

Cecil and Parker saw with alarm the steady growth of the puritans at Cambridge, and the archbishop's notice, issued in 1565, showed the dislike with which their opinions were regarded in London, and probably increased the bitterness and even violence with which their aims were pursued here.

The first trial of strength between the two parties in the university and college was on a question of no intrinsic importance. In 1565 Beaumont, with other heads, wrote to the chancellor against an order directing the use of the surplice in chapel. The archbishop curtly described the memorialists as 'bragging brainless heads,' and Beaumont—essentially a weak man—at once submitted. Not so Cartwright, however, who organized a demonstration against the rule; and one Sunday, after three sermons (all on the same day!) in the college chapel on the subject, he and the vast majority of the congregation appeared at the evening service without

surplices. Possibly most of the undergraduates disliked the use of the surplice, but many of them were boys, and probably they considered that such a breach of rules with the sanction of a 'senior' created a position of much interest. Paule says that the incident happened in Whitgift's mastership on a day when he happened to be absent from the college, but he was probably mistaken in the date. The story is a curious illustration of how little the presbyterians esteemed the value of academic discipline unless they exercised it themselves. After this unseemly action, and perhaps partly in consequence of it, Cartwright went out of residence for at least a couple of years. The order about surplices still rules our practice; probably the procession out of chapel is a relic of the customs of King's Hall.

Beaumont died in 1567, leaving a request to be buried with 'no vain jangling of bells nor any other popish ceremonies.' He was a weak leader to guide the college through such troubled times, and discipline was seriously relaxed under his rule. We may, however, esteem him a benefactor of the college, for he gave us our portraits of Henry VIII and his children, directing that they should be set in the library as soon as built, and meantime kept in the master's lodge, where they still hang. He was succeeded by Whitgift, to whose mastership and that of Still, his immediate successor, the next chapter is devoted.

The matriculation books of the university are extant from 1544, and the admission books of the college from 1635, but as all members of the university did not complete the full course we can, if we are restricted to these alone, only conjecture the number of residents in the university at any particular time. We have, however,

from 1564 onwards, occasional returns \* which give the actual numbers in residence in specified years. The figures must be used with caution, for in some cases servants are included, in others excluded. This affects comparisons, but we do not know the facts with sufficient accuracy to bring all the returns to the same standard, and it is better to leave them as originally made by contemporaries than to try to alter them to a uniform basis: at any rate they must be approximately correct. It will be convenient to give here all the available returns prior to 1796.

	1564	1573	1641	1672	1796	1898
Residents at Trinity	306	393	277	400	558	780
Residents at Cambridge	1267	1813(?)	2091	2522	2137	3621

It may be added that according to other returns the total number of students in 1570 was 1630; in 1622 was 3050; and in 1651 was 2848: but the numbers at each college in those years are not stated. From 1796 onwards the university calendars are available for statistics of this kind.

For 1796 and previous years the numbers of fellows who were resident are generally known: if we deduct these, and still further diminish the resulting totals by one-twelfth to allow for other bachelors and masters who were resident, we shall get the following figures, which will, I believe, give with fair approximation the number of undergraduates in residence in the years here mentioned:—

	1564	1573	1672	1796	1898
Undergraduates at Trinity (say)	237	204	211	450	591
Undergraduates at Cambridge (say)	853	1270	1909	1574	2727

\* See Cooper's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 206, 269, 315; vol. iii. pp. 148, 203, 315, 447, 553. The figures for 1898 are taken from the tabular analysis published in the *Cambridge Review*.

I do not think that the population of the town in these years is known; but in 1728 it was returned as 6,422 (*query*, apart from the university); in 1749 as 6,131; in 1801 (by the census) as 10,087; in 1811 as 11,108; in 1821 as 14,142; in 1831 as 20,917; in 1841 as 24,453; in 1851 as 27,815; in 1861 as 26,361; in 1871 as 30,078; in 1881 as 35,363; in 1891 as 36,983. The population of Chesterton, portions of which are practically a part of the town, is excluded from these returns.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Whitgift's Rule and Policy.

WHITGIFT became master of the college in 1567. The separation between the anglicans and puritans, owing to their divergent views about church organization, had by this time become marked, and in an age when tolerance was but rarely practised there was no room for both parties in the university. It was only a strong and somewhat arbitrary man who could have put an end to the prevalent disorder. The man was found in Whitgift. He devised the measures which placed and retained the control of the university and the colleges in the hands of the anglican party, and the university statutes which he suggested and which rendered this possible remained in force until 1856. The fact that his policy practically dominated the university for nearly three centuries is sufficient justification for briefly describing it.

Whitgift had come up to Cambridge in 1550, at the age of twenty, and commenced M.A. in 1557. At the time of his appointment to the mastership, he was known as a man of strong character, but, though attached to the State Church, he belonged to the moderate party, and was sincerely anxious to avoid all unnecessary strife—he had, for instance, signed the protest against the compulsory use of the surplice in chapel. He was, however,

determined to maintain discipline, and deeply resented the violence and indecorum of the puritan leaders.

Cartwright had now returned into residence. He was the acknowledged leader of the opposite party, and not only in his professorial lectures but even in sermons from the university pulpit to excited audiences he criticized and denounced the Church of England—and, in days when news-sheets and magazines were almost unknown and when books were comparatively rare, lectures and sermons materially influenced opinion. The scandal was so serious that the chancellor wrote to the university on the subject. The letter was read in the regent-house on June 29, 1570, at the same Congregation at which Cartwright presented himself for the degree of D.D. The oft-told story of the scene which followed showed that matters had come to a crisis. Whitgift at once determined to strike at the root of the disorder, and he urged on Cecil that the statutes of the university should be revised. The result was the Elizabethan code of September, 1570, of which the main object was to enable the heads of houses to control (by means of a veto) all university and college business. The immediate effect largely increased the power of Whitgift and his party. But there can be, I think, no doubt that Elizabeth and Cecil also regarded the occasion as a convenient opportunity for making the university more directly amenable to pressure from the government: the senate had more than once asserted its independence, but the heads of houses formed a comparatively small body of men, who were naturally inclined to support authority, and who were not likely to risk unnecessarily the prospect of ecclesiastical preferment by the Crown.

The importance of the new statutes lay in the fact that

they revolutionized the machinery of government. They were, however, also concerned with the order of studies, the succession of lectures and exercises, and the general arrangements for the maintenance of order and discipline. Hereafter an undergraduate was obliged to be a member of a college. After he had resided for three years, and had studied Greek, arithmetic, rhetoric, and logic, he was created a *general sophister* by his college. He then attended the acts of the incepting bachelors; read two theses, and kept at least two responsions and two opponencies under the regency of a master; after this he was examined by his college, and if approved presented as a *questionist*. He was next examined by the proctors and any regents who wished to do so: a supplicat from his college was then offered, and, if granted, the undergraduate was admitted first *ad respondendum questioni*, and subsequently as an incepting bachelor—the complete degree of *bachelor* was conferred a few weeks later. A candidate for the degree of master of arts was required to reside, to attend lectures, and to be present at all public acts kept by masters. He had also to deliver one declamation, and to keep three respondencies against M.A. opponents, two respondencies against B.A. opponents, and six opponencies against B.A. respondents.

These statutes mark the close of the period of transition (1535–1570) between the medieval university and what we may call the collegiate university. I have briefly described them because they remained in force for nearly three centuries. At the same time it should be noted that many of their provisions were, from the first, generally disregarded—except perhaps in the case of scholars—and even their partial enforcement led to many students going down without attempting to take a degree.



In 1608 it was decided that residence should be no longer required from bachelors, a decision that only sanctioned a practice which had already become prevalent. Thenceforth the exercises and acts for the M.A. degree were reduced to a mere formality, the only real tests imposed by the university on its students being those immediately preceding and attending the admission to the bachelor's degree.

A month after the new statutes were obtained, Whitgift was elected vice-chancellor; and in December, with the concurrence of the heads, he expelled Cartwright from his professorship—for this, it is admitted that there was justification in Cartwright's teaching. Whitgift was determined to purge the college also of its puritan element, and a few months later he deprived Cartwright of his fellowship at Trinity, on the ground that he had not taken priest's orders as required by the college statutes. This requirement had not been usually enforced, and, though the deprivation was technically correct, it was universally regarded as harsh. The fellows found themselves unable to prevent an act which the great majority regarded as inequitable, and the resentment was so bitter that Whitgift decided to resign. But Cecil, who was anxious to see the anglican party supreme in the university, recognized that Whitgift's presence was almost indispensable for that purpose, and succeeded in inducing him to stay. The controversy between Whitgift and Cartwright was now transferred to other fields, and no longer specially concerns the history of Trinity. Another prominent puritan, Travers, left in order to avoid expulsion. 'I was forced,' wrote Whitgift, 'by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel and depart from the college to Geneva,

otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinancy.'

Whitgift and his party were determined that their breach with the puritans should not excite any suspicion that they were leaning to popery. It was well known that Dr. Caius adhered to the old rites, and that he possessed a private collection of ornaments, vestments, and service books. An order was procured from London to investigate the matter. The result was a most scandalous scene. In the court of Caius between the gates of Virtue and Honour a bonfire was lit, and for three hours Whitgift (assisted by the heads of King's and Clare) was to be seen 'toiling resolutely and perspiring' as he threw the 'popish trumpery' into the flames. It should be noted that the presence of Roman Catholics at the university was not irregular, nor was it until 1603 that they were rendered ineligible for degrees, and a complete course here made practically impossible for them.

During the remainder of Whitgift's residence, he controlled the heads and, through them, ruled Cambridge exclusively in the interests of the anglican party, but many of the best scholars withdrew from a university where liberty of thought was so strictly defined. Whitgift, however, was well satisfied with the fruits of his policy, and writing to Archbishop Parker in 1575 he boasted of the consequences of his action.

In the college his position was not at first so secure, but he shortly took steps to assure himself of the support of a majority of the eight 'senior' fellows (who formed an executive council), by inducing incumbents of college livings to absent themselves from their cures and reside

here—a course much criticized even by his friends. Thanks to this measure, Whitgift, for the last six years, was able to rule the college as a dictator, and he freely used his power to rid it of all influences opposed to his own views. He proved, however, a successful administrator, and, though never liked, he gradually acquired the respect of the Society.

It must be remembered that then, and for many years later, the master or any fellow could act as tutor. Whitgift's reputation as a favourite at court, and the wide recognition of his services to the State Church, attracted to him numerous pupils—among whom I may in particular mention Francis Bacon, Edward Coke, and Essex.

One of his tutorial ledgers, showing his accounts with his pupils, is extant. He seems to have advanced them money for everything required—commons, furniture, books, stationery, clothes of all kinds and repairs to them, medicine and dentists' charges ('plucking out teth' at 1s. a tooth), nursing when a pupil was ill, and the keep of horses; even the charge for salting\* was inserted. On the other hand I find no entry of room-rents, nor do I know of any record in his accounts of charges for service except in time of illness or in cases where students

\* Salting was a somewhat barbarous initiation into college life through which freshmen then passed. Each freshman was, in turn, summoned before the assembled undergraduates of the higher years, and called on for a joke, a speech, or a song: if he pleased his somewhat critical audience, he was offered beer or sack; but if he failed to do so, he was compelled to drink a tankard of salt and water. Finally the senior cook came in and administered an oath on an old shoe. The cost of the liquor consumed was divided among the freshmen. The custom was abolished in 1646: see below, p. 95.

had their own private servants: this is perhaps explained by the fact that ordinarily gyps (as also cooks, porters, &c.) were sizars or subsizars who obtained their education in lieu of wages. This arrangement was adopted in no illiberal spirit and, though unsuited to modern sentiment, served a useful purpose in its day, but it was not efficient. Most likely those who desired it could employ women servants, but before the beginning of the seventeenth century such a course was unusual. The accounts of different pupils vary very much: some are concerned largely with lutes, bows and arrows, horse-hire, and other forms of amusement; others chiefly with commons and necessities; some are of portentous length; others very short. Roman and Arabic numerals are used indifferently. The additions in a few of the bills are incorrect, and it is possible that all the items were not inserted in Whitgift's ledgers, or may-be there are some clerical errors. Only a few of the accounts are for a longer period than three years. As they are the earliest instances of our college bills with which I am acquainted, I give one or two instances.

As one simple, but fairly typical, case I quote the account of a student, John Watton, for the first three quarters of his first year of residence (Oct. 10, 1571 to Midsummer, 1572). It will be noticed that Watton paid a lump sum in advance, approximately equal to the estimate of the amount of the bill, and this seems to have been a usual custom.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>receayd</i> . . . .	v			<i>layd owt for hym</i>			
<i>a psalme boke</i> . .		ij		<i>bymr whitaker</i>		iiij	
<i>a paper boke</i> . .			xij	<i>for a capp</i> . . .		ij	viiij

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
valerius max . .			xvj	lector at easter .			xij
cō. and syz. to the				tutor . . . .		x	
laste of novēb		xx	j	bow and arrowes		ij	x
3 pare of shoes .		iiij	vj	plato de legib.			
lector at christ-				græ. . . . .		iiij	
mas . . . .			xij	receavyd att london	viiij		
for a key to hys				layd owt there for			
chamb. dore		viiij		a cloke, 2 pare			
mēding apparrell		ix		of hosse and			
to the carrier . .		xij		one pare of			
being syck In the				botes . . . .	iiij	xvj	7
towne . . . .	v	xj		for Justine a			
cō. and sy. to the				paper boke . .		ij	
last of feb. . .	xxxj	ij		lector at myd. .			xij
odissea homeri				hys cō. and syz.			
ethica aristo.				to the .30. of			
gr. . . . .	iiij			may . . . .	xxxviiij	ij	
landres di. anni				penner and			
att the anūci	ij	8		ynckhorne . .			vj
one pare of hosse	x	iiij		horssehier to			
one doublett . .	vij			london . . .	v	iiij	
mending appar-				lawndres att.			
rell . . . .		xij		myd. . . .		xvj	
4 <sup>l.</sup> 19 <sup>s.</sup> j <sup>d.</sup>				tutor . . . .		x	
fyve pare of shoes	v	x		.3. pare of shoes	iiij	v	
for suppers in lent	viiij			14 <sup>l.</sup> 7 <sup>s.</sup> 9 <sup>d.</sup> ob. debet	27 <sup>s.</sup> 9 <sup>d.</sup> ob.		

As another specimen, here is the account of Henry Gates for his second term of residence, the Easter Term, 1571: a debit balance, which was brought forward from the account of the previous term, is not shown in the bill.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
receavyd of hys				a paper boke . .		ij	
father att my				a capp . . . .		ij	vj
beeing at lon-				a bowe . . . .			xx
don . . . .		iiij		arrowes . . . .			viiij

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
a testament . . .		ij		a dublett . . .	viiij		iiij
a service boke . .			xx	one pare of hosse	xiiij		vj
comons att				another dublett	xiiij		ij
gowlds - bur-				mending hosse			iiij
rowes in lent				4 pare shoes . .	iiij		ix
two wekes		vij		lawndres att			
lawndres att the				mydso. . .			xx
anūti . . .			xx	lector the same			
hys saltyng. . .		ij		tyme . . .			xij
hys co. and syz.				tutor the same			
2. of June	xxxiiij		iiij	tyme . . .		x	
one pare of				carterus [Seton's			
stokes . . .		ij	vj	Dialectic's] . .			xvj
57 <sup>s</sup> . 6 <sup>d</sup> .				deb. 47 <sup>s</sup> . 7 <sup>d</sup> .			

As one more example, here is the account of the brothers Anthony Bacon and Francis Bacon, who came up in April, 1573 (Francis was then only a little over twelve years old), and lived in the same rooms with their friend Edward Tyrrell: they had with them a servant named Griffith. The bill is for the half-year from April 5, 1573, to the following Michaelmas.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
receavyd . . .	xxvj	xiiij	iiij	cōmenta. cesaris		ij	
layd owt for cer-				3. pare of shoes			
tain stufte as				for antho. . .	iiij		vj
appearyth by				2. pare for			
a certain byll	xliij		j	frances . . .		ij	
for half a wekes				2. pare terrell . .		ij	4
cōmon . . .		vij	vj	candell . . .		iiij	
titus livius . .		viiij	vj	brekfasts the . 9.			
ciceronis rheto.		iiij		of may. . .		x	
olynthi. orati.				for anthonie			
demost. . .			xij	beeing syck . .	xij		vj
Ilias hom. 2.				more in the			
gre. . . .		iiij	viiij	tyme of his			
				syknes . . .	v		vj

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
more in his				mending cur-			
sycknes . .		x	iiij	tans. . . .			vj
.3. pare of shoes		iiij		paper and ynck			x
bringing a cloke				oyle for frances			
bagg from				neck . . .			xij
london . .			xij	concerve of bar-			
.2. boes [and ar-				berries. . .			x
rowes struck				aumont mylke .			viiij
through] . .		iiij	viiij	for other meate			
arrowes . . .		v	ij	when he was			
shoting gloves				syck . . .		iiij	4
and a braser .			vj	.2. tables for			
ij quivers . .		ij		there studies		x	
there matricu-				.2. deskes. . .		vj	
lation . . .			vj	cō. and syz. the			
carrieng bokes				.29. maii . . .	iiij	xv	j
from london .			xviiij	.2. lodes of coles		xxx	
arrowes for mr				[16 <sup>l</sup> . 17 <sup>a</sup> . 11 <sup>d</sup> .]			
terrell . . .			xviiij	.3. pare of shoes		iiij	viiij
.3. pare of shoes		iiij	iiij	cutting of wood			vj
laundres at myd		viiij		.2. pownd can-			
two pare of gar-				dell . . . .			vj
ters . . . .		v		to the potiqarie			
lector at myd. .		iiij		when fraunces			
for .2. horsshier				was syck . .		iiij	
goeng to red-				for meate for			
grave.7. dayes		ix	iiij	frauncesbeeng			
for dressing				syck . . .		iiij	iiij
horsse and				for breakfasts			
horssemeat at				.6. dayes . .		ij	
my. l. northes				cōmons 28 aug.			
at redgrave				antho. . . .		liiij	xj
&c. . . . .		ij	x	fraunces . . .		lj	ob.
.2. dosen poynts			xij	tyrrell. . . .		l	ix
breakfasts . .		viiij		lector at mihel .		iiij	
vj pare of shoes		vj	iiij	laundres . . .		viiij	
mending a dub-				tutor . . . .	iiij		
let for antho.			vj	one pare of bel-			
mending a				loes . . . .		ij	
gowne for				.2. dosen poyntes			xvj
terrell . . .			vj	[25 <sup>l</sup> . 8 <sup>a</sup> . 7 <sup>d</sup> . ob.]			

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
a tinder box . .			vj	tullies workes .	xxx		
candell . . .			vj	2 aristotells .	xxxvj		
a lock for there				.2. platoes . .	xxiiij		
woodhowse .			xvj	one cōmentarie			
a stone Jugg .			x	of tullies ora-			
shoes for antho.			xvj	tions . . .	xiiij		
fraunces . . .			xiiij	one zenophon			
tyrrell . . .			xv	gre. and latin	xviiij		
an earthen pan			iiij	one salust . .		xvj	
for entreing into				one lode of wood		vj	
cōmons . . viij				[19 <sup>l.</sup> 9 <sup>s.</sup> 9 <sup>d.</sup> 44 <sup>l.</sup> 18 <sup>s.</sup> 4 <sup>d.</sup> ]			

Tyrrell went down in 1574, and the Bacons at Christmas 1575. During their last term, the brothers economized rigidly on books, and so, in spite of some expenditure on luxuries, they had as much as £10 13s. to their credit when they left, 'wch,' writes Whitgift, 'I have payd to D. perne for bokes bowght for my L. keeper wch he bestoweth vppon the vniversitie, so all ys quite.' I hope that the Bacons were not disappointed with the use to which this money was put.

An interesting picture of Whitgift in his daily life is given by a contemporary. The students, says Sir George Paule,

he held to their publike disputations, and exercises, and prayers which he never missed, chiefly for devotion, and withall to observe others absence, alwaies severely punishing such omisions and negligences. He usually dined and supped in the common Hall, as well to have a watchfull eye over the schollers, and to keepe them in a mannerley and awfull obedience, as by his example, to teach them to be contented with a scholler-like College diet.

That he was a stern disciplinarian there can be no doubt. As a trivial illustration I note the following decree issued by him (as vice-chancellor) to the university



on May 8, 1572, and assuredly enforced by him in his own college:—

If any scholar shall go into any river, pool, or other water in the county of Cambridge, by day or night, to swim or wash, he shall, if under the degree of bachelor of arts, for the first offence be sharply and severely whipped publicly in the common hall of the College in which he dwells, in the presence of all the fellows, scholars and others dwelling in the College, and on the next day shall be again openly whipped in the public school, where he was or ought to be an auditor, before all the auditors, by one of the proctors or some other assigned by the Vicechancellor; and for the second offence every such delinquent shall be expelled his College and the University for ever. But if he shall be a bachelor of arts, then for the first offence he shall be put in the stocks for a whole day, in the common hall of his College, and shall, before he is liberated, pay 10<sup>s</sup>. towards the commons of the College, and for the second offence shall be expelled his College and the University. And if he shall be a master of arts, or bachelor of law, phisic, or music, or of superior degree, he shall be severely punished, at the judgment and discretion of the Master of his College, or in his absence, of the President and one of the Deans.

The sanction seems unnecessarily severe. Our stocks stood above the screens in our former dining-hall. On flogging, see below, p. 82.

A few other facts connected with our history during his mastership deserve mention.

At the heraldic visitation of Robert Cooke Clarencieux in 1575 a note was made that 'the arms of Trinity were (as now) argent, a chevron between three roses gules, on a chief of the last a lion passant gardant between two books or': on the cover of each book five roses are, according to the *Memoriale*, stamped. That is, on a silver shield is placed an inverted red V or chevron, and above the apex of the chevron is a broad red horizontal band or chief which covers the top third or fourth of the

shield: in each of the three pieces of the silver shield into which it is thus divided is placed a red rose, and on the top band is placed a gold lion between two gold books. The introduction of Lancastrian roses in a Tudor grant was probably a blunder. These arms were in use some years before 1575, and it is not unlikely that they were granted in or shortly after 1546. In a few recent examples the chief is made to rest on the apex of the chevron: this improves the artistic effect and may-be is better heraldry, but it is inconsistent with our early practice. The arms used by King's Hall are given in the university calendar for 1898-9: for the arms there assigned to Michael-House I know of no authority.

In 1576 Whitgift tried to obtain an act of parliament to render the sale of scholarships and fellowships illegal, but it did not become law till 1589, and even then did not altogether stop the practice; while for many years later royal interference at fellowship and scholarship elections, though resented, was not uncommon. A few years earlier, 1569, he had taken steps in the same direction by trying to stop the custom of nominating Westminster scholars to scholarships and even fellowships at Trinity. The college agreed as a compromise to receive seven scholars every three years, but in spite of this agreement the school, backed by influential personages, repeatedly insisted on sending up additional nominees, and the college found it impossible to refuse to receive them. What more I have to say about the Westminster scholars will be given later (see below, pp. 169, 170).

One small addition to the college buildings marked the close of Whitgift's mastership. In 1576 Garret Hostel, which had been previously let by the college to Cevallerius, a university lecturer on Hebrew, was fitted up as eight

sets of chambers. It would seem that these continued to be occupied until 1662, when, owing to their ruinous condition, they were vacated.

In the following year, 1577, Whitgift accepted a bishopric and resigned his mastership. A farewell sermon preached in the college chapel from 2 Corinthians, ch. xiii, verse 11, revealed an unexpected affection for the place, as well as powers of oratory which moved his audience, 'insomuch that there were scarce any drie eyes to be found amongst the whole number'; and so amid signs of genuine esteem he left us for a wider sphere of action.

It is difficult to overestimate the effect of his rule. He revolutionized the governing machinery of the university; he enormously increased the powers of the master in every college; he secured to the Church of England the control of the university; and though under his rule our members did not increase relatively to the rest of the university, yet he secured to the college that recognized primacy which it has never since ceased to enjoy. That he acted unselfishly for what he believed to be the good of the college is unquestionable. He was an excellent man of business, though a stern (or even harsh) disciplinarian, but it may be doubted if gentler methods would at that time have been equally efficacious in maintaining discipline; and judged by almost any test we may say that, though he was unscrupulous and his actions often unconstitutional, yet the college prospered under his rule.

Whitgift was succeeded as master by John Still, 1577-1593, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. Still was a gentleman by birth and education, and a good scholar. He showed no initiative, but he carried on the policy of

his predecessor without any marked failure: it would seem that he interested himself usefully in improving the finances of the college. The foundation of Emmanuel, 1584, in the interests of the puritan party, showed that the struggle, though postponed by Whitgift's action, had not been finally settled, and from this time onward for many years the religious disputes in the university were bitter and unseemly; it was fortunate that the energies of the college were spent on other work.

Two or three domestic incidents, of no intrinsic importance, are interesting as throwing side-lights on college life in those days.

The first relates to a fight which took place in 1579 after a match of football at Chesterton—whereon in the next year the university

ordered and decreed . . . that no scholar of what degree or condition soever he be, shall at any place or at any time hereafter, play at the foot-ball, but only within the precincts of their several colleges, not permitting any stranger or scholars of other colleges or houses to play with them or in their company, and in no place else. And if any person being not adultus shall break or violate any part of this decree and order, he shall for every default be openly corrected with the rod in the common schools by some of the university officers. And all other being adulti shall for the first offence pay to the use of the university five shillings, and for the second offence ten shillings, and for the third forty shillings of lawful money of England. And if any person shall refuse to pay the said sums and mulcts when they shall be demanded, then he so refusing shall be committed to ward, there to remain until he have fully paid the said mulcts. Item, the little green lying between the river and Trinity College, is allowed unto and for the only company of the said Trinity College for that pastime.

The next relates to the expulsion of one of the fellows, John Browning by name, who in 1584 took the degree of D.D. at Oxford instead of here, for which he was ordered

to be expelled from his fellowship! On learning this decision he barricaded himself in his rooms, which were finally stormed by the proctors, who 'carried him out by strong hand'—much, we may suppose, to the enjoyment of the undergraduates who witnessed this unusual spectacle. The proctors acted under the directions of the master, but why they were invited inside our gates I cannot conjecture.

Finally I may note that in Still's mastership occurred the last instance of the election (in 1586) to the vice-chancellorship of any one not a head—the recipient of this honour was John Copcot of Trinity, who at the end of his year of office was made Master of Corpus. Copcot always took precedence of Still when outside the college walls, but yielded it when inside them. Efforts to elect as vice-chancellor one who was not a head were made in 1712 and 1772, but they were unsuccessful.

Staircase *E* in the Old Court (marked *C* on the map given above on p. 17)—famous for its many distinguished tenants, Newton, Macaulay, Thackeray, and others—is said to have been rebuilt during Still's mastership, and was the only material alteration effected under his rule.

Still seems to have been a conscientious gentleman, but dull, uninteresting, and of no particular force of character. He left the college in 1593, on his appointment to a bishopric, and was succeeded by Nevile, on whose rule we still look back with pride.

## CHAPTER V.

**The Reconstruction of the College Buildings.**

THE year 1593 is memorable for the appointment to the mastership of Thomas Nevile, whose munificence and princely liberality are still commemorated by the quadrangle, no small part of which he erected at his sole expense.

At the date of his accession to the mastership most of the buildings round the Old Court were mean and in bad repair, while the effect was disfigured by three blocks projecting into the court, one of which ran eastwards from the present master's lodge to where the sundial now stands, one northwards from the sundial to the chapel, and one westwards from between the present staircases *G* and *H* about half-way across the court (see map, p. 47).

Nevile saw that the magnitude of the site offered opportunities for the creation of a stately court worthy of the reputation of the college. He consulted Ralph Symons, one of the most successful architects of the day, as to the best scheme, and with the hearty approval of the Society, set to work to arrange the court as we now know it. To obtain the necessary funds he secured, in 1595, a licence from the Crown authorizing the college to grant beneficial leases for twenty years (instead of ten, as was then usual), and with the fines received for such

leases, together with some private benefactions, he was able to begin operations. But though the Society supported Nevile, it was he who was the author of the scheme, and without his assiduity, tact, and generosity it could not have been brought to a successful issue.

The 'reconcinnation' of the court was executed rapidly and continuously. The first work was the completion and alteration of the staircases *H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q* on the east and south sides of the court—the staircases *E* and *G* had been reconstructed in 1584 and 1557 respectively, and their appearance from the court has since remained practically unaltered; in 1597 the Queen's Gate (staircase *O*) was built, and in 1599 the Great Gate (staircase *F*) was 'heightened,' but probably this only means the completion of the turrets. In the same year the range which projected from between *G* and *H* half-way across the court was cleared away.

By 1601, the new library (marked *Y* on the map given above on p. 17), a handsome and finely proportioned apartment (though the exterior and sky-line compare but badly with those on the south and east sides of the court), the rooms under it (staircases *B, C*), the adjoining turret (staircase *A*), and the greater part of the present master's lodge were completed: in connexion with this work the western gallery behind the old lodge, and the chambers connecting King Edward's Tower with the north and west sides of the court were demolished, and the tower was removed and rebuilt between the chapel and staircase *C* (marked *B* on the map); a clock was added in 1610, and replaced by the present one in 1726. The sundial, which was put up in 1709, marks the former position of King Edward's Tower (*bb* on the map).

The erection of the fountain was begun in 1602: it is supplied with water, from springs on Madingley Rise, conveyed by the conduit pipe formerly belonging to the Franciscan monastery in Sidney Street, and given to us by Henry VIII. The dining-hall (for which Nevile advanced the money) was commenced in 1604, and the kitchen and combination-room in 1605.

The appearance of the court as finished is shown in Loggan's print, circ. 1688. It has been but little altered since, save at the south end of the west side, where stands the ugly block which was designed by Essex (marked *P* on the map given above on p. 17). The general effect of Nevile's alterations was singularly harmonious, and was universally admired. Thus Fletcher writing, circ. 1610, in dedicating a work to Nevile, says, 'I think (King Henry the 8 being the Uniter, Edward the 3 the Founder, and yourself the Repairer of this College wherein I live) none will blame me, if I esteem the same, since your polishing of it, the fairest sight in Cambridge.'

About this time Nevile commenced the erection, at his own expense, of the court which has been since known by his name; the cost was about £3,000. The style was Jacobean, as is shown in the engraving on the library staircase. Considerable repairs were necessary in 1755, and the college availed themselves of the opportunity to modify the front on classical lines. The two staircases, one on each side of the present library, were absent from the original design, and the river-side was closed by a wall in which was a handsome gateway, not impossibly the same as that which now stands at the entrance to the college from Trinity Lane, and whose ancient name is Nevile's Gate. The old ditch was filled up and the



space between it and the river laid out as college grounds.

I deemed it undesirable to interrupt this sketch of the reconstruction of the college buildings by mentioning other facts in our history. The most noticeable of these was the unfortunate mistake we made in 1594-1595 when the site and grounds of Sidney Sussex College were, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, granted, under the authority of a private Act (35 Eliz. cap. 2), for the altogether inadequate consideration of a fee-farm rent of twenty marks a year. The seniority unluckily and without sufficient care assented to the proposal. The inequity of the arrangement was so obvious that the college appealed against it, but it was too late, and the transfer had to be made. The buildings on the site were, however, not included in this agreement, and it was ordered that we should be paid a capital sum of a hundred marks for their value, though (from the letters of Oct. 3 and 10, 1595) it seems doubtful whether we ever received it.

As a set-off to this piece of folly, Nevile, in March, 1613, on behalf of the college, obtained from the town the paddocks and about two-thirds of Garret Hostel Green—in exchange for Parker's Piece (twenty-five acres), a farm and house, and £50 in cash. The bargain was advantageous to the town, but the negotiations for the exchange had been proceeding since 1547, and as the possession of the paddocks was important to the college and had met with vehement opposition on the part of St. John's College, it was probably wise to secure them even at a high price.

I may also add that those who are interested in the history of our House owe Nevile a special debt of gratitude, for it was under his rule, in 1607, that directions

were given that minutes should be kept of all conclusions of the executive council of the college, and after that year we possess records of their more important decisions.

I have alluded almost exclusively to the material benefits which Nevile conferred on the House, but it must not be inferred therefrom that he failed to maintain worthily its fame and repute. Indeed he was able to refer with just pride to the fact that at the same time the lord chancellor, the lord chief justice, the two archbishops, and numerous of the most eminent statesmen, lawyers, and ecclesiastics of the day were members of the great foundation over which he presided. The numbers of the college increased under his rule.

The custom of the Judges of Assize staying in Trinity during the sittings here of their courts arose about this time. Nevile, to whose initiative the present arrangement of the lodge is mainly due, delighted in generous and open-handed hospitality. Among his friends was Coke (subsequently Lord Chief Justice of England), a Trinity man who as an undergraduate had been slightly junior to Nevile; and it is believed that Coke when a barrister on this circuit was always a welcome visitor at the lodge. From 1489 or earlier until 1606 the judges were lodged at the Dolphin Inn (situated in Bridge Street at the end of All Saints' Passage), but from 1610 onwards they usually came to the college. Our steward's accounts for 1607, 1608, and 1609 are lost, but the books for the following years show that Coke, when Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was Nevile's guest in 1610, 1611, and 1612, and it is only reasonable to suppose that he was equally welcomed in 1608 (when he came this circuit) as he had been in earlier years when he was attorney-general. I think that in 1609 Coke did not

attend these assizes, and probably in that year the judge stayed at the Dolphin. We may therefore presume that in 1608 the judge was first lodged in the college: by 1662 (at the latest) the custom of the Judges of Assize staying in Trinity was well established. In 1866 their reception was put on a legal footing.

Nevile's reconstruction of the college buildings was finished about the beginning of 1612 and was made an opportunity for asking Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, to visit the college. Three years later, March, 1615, James I stayed here as our guest—a precursor of the numerous visits from royal and other celebrities which have since followed one another in almost unbroken succession. Nevile was then stricken with the palsy and dying, but by his directions the guests were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and he kept open house during their stay. We possess full contemporary accounts of the visit, and they do not increase one's respect for either king or university. Acts, sermons, and plays (all of interminable length, and the last none too decent) filled up every available moment. The royal caprices were carefully humoured, and, so far was this carried, that during the visit even 'taking tobacco in St. Maries Church or in Trinity Colledge Hall' was strictly forbidden. Fashions change, and nowadays I suppose it would require an order to permit the use of tobacco in either place. Guests and hosts combined in thinking the visit a brilliant success, and so pleased was James that within two months of his leaving he declared his intention to come again, but a few days after his arrival Nevile passed away, lamented by every member of the college which he had so faithfully served and loved.

His face is familiar to us from the portrait which the

college has hung in the place of honour in the dining-room of the lodge. He took no part in politics. On ecclesiastical questions he was a pronounced though moderate anglican, but he enjoyed the respect of all parties and faithfully lived up to his well-known motto *ne vile velis*. Besides holding various honourable offices he was successively Dean of Peterborough (1590-7), and of Canterbury (1597-1615): a memorial of his connexion with the last-named city has been preserved in the magnificent Canterbury psalter which we obtained through him, and which is now one of the treasures of our library. But it is his tact, hospitality, and boundless generosity which the college still gratefully remembers as the prominent features in his character: 'he never had his like,' says Hacket, 'for a splendid, courteous, and bounteous gentleman.'

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I here for a moment interrupt my narrative in order to remark on one or two of the many changes in Cambridge which had taken place during the eventful sixteenth century; and though in what follows I am thinking mainly of Trinity, it would apply with but little alteration to the rest of the university.

Externally the spacious courts and handsome buildings compared favourably with the small quadrangles and dingy hostels of the earlier period, but it is rather of the internal changes of which I desire to speak.

In the first place, only a small proportion of the bachelors and few masters (other than fellows) now continued to reside; this change removed a valuable link between the senior and junior members of the body. This separation between dons and undergraduates was

increased by the fact that under the Elizabethan statutes the younger fellows were mostly obliged to take orders, and were looking forward to the prospect of a college living rather than to active teaching or regency. The fellows also no longer constituted a homogeneous corporation. The intention and effect of the Elizabethan statutes was to give the control of a college to the head and a few of the senior fellows—the friction that this system was likely to engender was increased by the fact that at this time many of the younger fellows leant to presbyterianism, while of the seniors the majority were determined to uphold moderate anglicanism.

In spite of considerable corruption on the part of the masters and senior fellows, the material prosperity of the college was steadily increasing—thanks mainly to Sir Thomas Smith's Act—so that the junior fellows found themselves able to make the college their home until the looked-for presentation to a living took place. Such a constitution was not likely to promote research or efficient teaching, but many of the younger fellows, be it said to their credit, took up tutorial work, and most of them were not infrequent preachers.

Turning next to the undergraduates, the extinction of the private hostels and the commingling of scholars, pensioners, and sizars under one roof tended to the advantage of all. The admission of large numbers of pensioners led, however, to a serious overcrowding of the college, four (or perhaps more) undergraduates often sharing a single room: in the larger apartments it is likely that cubicles were constructed. In Nevile's time the total number of residents must have exceeded 400—nearly all lodged in the Old Court, the Hostel, and the Cloister Court of King's Hall. Boys were still sometimes admitted,

but sixteen was a not unusual age at which to commence residence.

In spite of the large number of scholars, the pensioners must have formed the bulk of the residents, and at Trinity a considerable proportion of these were sons of squires or merchants. Of course, then as now, there were those who wasted their time in pleasure. Thus Henry Peacham of Trinity, writing about 1620, says that some of the undergraduates of his day had 'no further thought of studie, then to trimme up their studies with pictures, and place the fairest bookes in openest view, which, poor lads, they scarce ever opened, or understand... [and] what together with the sweetnesse of libertie, variety of companie, and so many kinds of recreation in towne and fields abroad (being like young lapwings apt to be snatched up by every buzzard), they... learn but little.' We have heard similar complaints in later times. There may be truth in them, but the discipline of a university must differ from that of a school, and it is not perhaps too much to say that were undergraduates given no opportunities to waste their time, one of the most valuable elements in university life would be lost: at any rate the long roll of statesmen, lawyers, scholars, and divines who owed their education to Trinity at this period show that it was no mere pleasure-seeking society of which we are the successors.

The civil and religious discussions of the day found their echo among the undergraduates, who keenly debated the questions raised; and probably there were but few students who were not prepared at a moment's notice to explain and defend the most abstruse doctrines of politics and theology.

The cost of a university education, allowing for the

change in the purchasing power of money, seems to have been not very different from what it is now—a fair idea of it can be obtained from the tutor's bills I have quoted above. D'Ewes who came up to Cambridge as a fellow-commoner in 1618 had an allowance of £50 a year: he thought he ought to have had £60, but as he declined his father's offer to pay his bills and give him a small sum for pocket-money, I infer that £50 was a reasonable estimate.

The actual instruction was more and more falling into the hands of the college tutors and lecturers; and 'acts,' exercises, and attendance at university lectures were neglected or treated as a mere formality. The tutorial system was similar to that now in force but less organized, and where (as was then not uncommon) a fellow had but one or two pupils his supervision tended to become inefficient because it was not made his main duty. Discipline was more uniform and efficient than that formerly customary at the private hostels. Trivial breaches of rules were punished by fines and perhaps by impositions, but corporal punishment was not unknown, at any rate as far as the younger students were concerned, and the dean attended in hall to see that the birch was applied to such youths as had infringed any college rules, or sometimes to any lad who was beginning to show himself 'too forward, pragmatic, and conceited': the custom was for the delinquent to be placed on a beer-barrel for the more convenient administration of the punishment. Where corporal punishment is mentioned in our records it is restricted to those *non-adulti*; probably this was always the practice of the college, and thus as the age of entry rose the use of the rod died out.

The dress and amusements of students were much the same as those of other English lads of the same rank. Perhaps at this time archery, tennis, and football (*reciprocatio pilae*) were the most popular forms of exercise: football is specially alluded to in 1574, 1579, 1602, and 1620. Sports and games, however, were unorganized, and it was not until the first quarter of the present century that we find their promotion encouraged by permanent clubs: probably also the rules (except in tennis) were not definite. On the other hand, festivities (either on feast days or on the occasion of taking degrees) were constantly organized by the students, but in 1608 it was ordained that owing to the 'over-great liberty taken by bachelors' they were hereafter to obtain licences from the authorities for such functions. The long winter evenings were not uncommonly relieved by plays performed in hall after supper on Saturday and Sunday evenings, and at Christmas every one, young and old, played cards. In fact until the civil war the social side of college life was well organized.

But what I desire chiefly to emphasize is that undergraduates then, like their predecessors in medieval times, were much the same as their successors of to-day. Customs were somewhat coarser, the hours of work, meals, and play were different, discipline was harsher; but these are the accidents of life. The fields were as green and the sky as blue then as now; and similar hopes and ambitions inspired the students of three centuries ago to those which find expression among the men who have succeeded them.



## CHAPTER VI.

### **The Seventeenth Century.**

It will be noticed that I have divided the history of the college mainly by masterhips. This treatment is so natural and convenient that it would be pedantic not to use it ; but at the same time it gives an exaggerated idea of the influence exerted by those who held the office between Nevile and Whewell. They were often appointed at a stage in their careers when they had ceased to take much interest in questions of learning ; and, save for Bentley, they flit across our history, usually conspicuous and prosperous, frequently dignified chairmen, but in many cases with no ambition to exercise their large statutable powers, and only nominally chiefs of a self-governing community with which on educational and business matters they were barely in touch.

To our history in the early years of the seventeenth century, under Nevile, I have already alluded. Nevile's immediate successors were not men who made their rule memorable. Of the half-century succeeding his death I know but little of our history ; it is hardly necessary to say that during this time, here no less than in the country, the prominent facts were the civil and religious disturbances. The latter part of the seventeenth century, from the restoration onwards, was one of

material prosperity, and will be always associated by us with the names of Newton, Pearson, and Barrow ; but, on the whole, regarding the college as a home of learning, education, and research, it was a time of decadence.

The death of Nevile made the less immediate impression on his contemporaries in consequence of its occurring almost simultaneously with the second visit to the college of James I—and in those days the favour of the Crown was a matter of extreme importance. We may conceive what a royal reception meant when the king could not even enter the college without hearing at the gate an oration from the vice-chancellor or his deputy (during which the heads, and other members of the university who were present, knelt), and half-way to the master's lodge another oration from the public orator. I note, however, that, though James seems to have regarded five or six hours as none too long for an indecent play, even he thought that there were limits to the length of a sermon. Here is the way that royalty spent Sunday, May 14, 1615:—

On Sunday, at 9 of the clock, there was a sermon in St. Mary's ; at half an hour past 10 the king went to Trinity chapel, where he heard prayers and an anthem, and then a clero in Trinity, made by Mr. Simpson of Trinity, which was an hour and an half long, which seemed too tedious to his majesty, and therefore he shewed some distaste, not of the clero, for it was well and learnedly performed, but that he had no care to prevent tediousity, he being wearied overnight ; the clero ended, there was another anthem sung and prayers, and then his majesty went to dinner ; at 3 a sermon in St. Mary's, before divers of the nobility ; after dinner, about 4 of the clock, his majesty went to Mr. Butler . . . where he stayed near an hour ; after that his majesty went to supper,

and no doubt early to bed, for the congregation on Monday morning began at seven.

To return, however, to our domestic history. Nevile was succeeded by John Richardson, 1615-1625, whose appointment, we infer from our *Memoriale*, was acceptable to the Society. Richardson carried on the government with tact; at the same time, however, he had an eye to his own advantage, and he secured leases of college property on terms highly beneficial to himself. Probably this is why in April, 1624, a petition against his misgovernment of the college was presented to the House of Commons. A committee of the House to which it was referred did not consider the case of the petitioners to be proved. At the close of his career the college again received a visit from James I, which I record only because it was during it and within our walls that the betrothal of Henrietta of France and Prince Charles was ratified (Dec. 12, 1624). Richardson died a few months later.

He was succeeded in the mastership by Mawe, who is described as 'a good scholar, a grave preacher, a mild man, and one of gentle deportment.' He had been sent to Spain to act as chaplain to Prince Charles in his mad trip there in 1623, and had had a bad fall from a mule, 'lighting on his head.' The damage he thus suffered was said to constitute a claim on the government, and to have led to his being made successively Master of Trinity in 1625, and Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1628: we may hope that this was slander.

The college was at this time agitated by the 'servants question.' Hitherto the sizars had filled many of the domestic posts, acting as porters, gyps, messengers, &c., though the more menial duties were (in Trinity) not assigned to them. This practice rested on the assumption that the college might assist industrious and well-behaved lads in humble life who were willing to

undertake such work by giving them membership of the House and gratuitous education in lieu of money wages. In 1625 an attempt was made to confine such posts to sizars, and on Dec. 19 of that year a notice was issued by the heads to the following effect :—

Decreed that, whereas boys and men (ignorant of letters and altogether unapt to make any progress in the studies of the University) and women have crept within the college walls, to do those works which used to be done by indigent students to help to bear their charges, from whence great damage has accrued to poor scholars, hereafter such boys, men, and women shall (except for women of mature age employed as charwomen and sick nurses) be forbidden all College work.

This was a recommendation rather than an order, and our minute books seem to indicate that our object at the time was not to abolish the employment (already customary) of women 'bedmakers,' but to put it on a proper and regular footing, for on July 18, 1625, it was

Ordered . . . that all young women shall be banished and put out of the College; and that no women under the age of 50 years or thereabouts, and they also of honest fame and report and approved honesty, shall come into the College to make beds or do any other service for fellows and scholars. And whosoever, after ten days that this order is published and made known, shall under any colour or pretence of business bring any young women into the College to entertain maintain or employ them, if he be non-adultus he shall be publicly corrected in the Hall with the rod; if he be adultus he shall for the first time be punished 12<sup>d</sup>, for the second time 2<sup>s</sup>; if he be a fellow for the first time so offending he shall be punished 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>, for the second time he shall pay 5<sup>s</sup>. Which money shall not be converted to the private use of any officers, but go only to the benefit of the College. And if any fellow or scholar, after twice being punished by mulct or otherwise shall persist to break this order, then he shall be proceeded against according to the judgment of the master and eight seniors.

A later order of Dec. 12, 1628, seems to show that at this time the deans superintended or perhaps wielded the rod when its use was needed on such occasions. On Sept. 7, 1635, there was another long order reciting that to the scandal of the Society the former one had not been so well fulfilled as it ought, and repeating it with additional penalties; similar orders were made at various subsequent times. The only reference to men bedmakers being employed with which I am acquainted is one about a certain John Perkins who was I. Newton's 'male bedmaker': possibly, however, he was really a gyp. Subsequently the problem of domestic service has been reconsidered several times. I think the evidence shows that women are better than men as 'bedmakers'; but I have always urged, and hold strongly, that the system would be improved, and ought to be supplemented, by the employment of a lady matron.

Mawe was in turn succeeded by Samuel Brooke, who had been chaplain to Prince Henry of Wales, and from whom, I suppose, we derive our interesting collection of Henry's school-books. Mawe had adopted the extreme views of Laud, then in vogue at Court, but which had not hitherto found many supporters in Cambridge. It was probably partly to his advocacy of these opinions that he owed his appointment, and that in 1632 Charles I paid him a visit.

About this period the fall in the value of money caused a considerable increase in the revenue of the House, and at the same time rendered the statutable stipends inadequate for the maintenance of the fellows. After some discussion it was decided, April 1, 1630, that the surplus should be 'divided' in certain proportions among the Society—the sum divided that year amounted to £900.

There have been few if any years subsequently in which a dividend has not been declared. On Jan. 23, 1634, a complete scheme of division was drawn up—the sum then available being £1,430 1s. 4d.

In 1631 died, in his rooms in college, Thomas Harrison, one of the revisers of the authorized version, and 'Vice Master of Trinitie Colledge, a very reverend, grave, and facetious cheerful man, who delighted both to speake and to be answered in elegant Latine, [and] allwayes gave his toast to be toasted with this phrase: *Admoveatur igni donec in utrumque latus erubescat.*' I might sketch out his career, but in truth he is not at this distance of time a specially interesting personage, though I, who live in the rooms which he occupied and embellished, am in private duty bound to commemorate him by at least a passing word. In particular I may allude to the beautiful plaster ceiling put up, I believe, by him in his sitting room: it is of the same general design as that in the old regent house (now the catalogue-room in the university) and in the master's gallery at St. John's (now the combination-room there).

Brooke was followed in 1631 by Thomas Comber, no mean scholar or divine, but whose misfortune it was to rule the House through the troubled period of the civil wars. From this time, 1635, our admission books are extant. I once commenced an analysis showing the number of entries in each term of every subsequent academic year, but it would only overload my pages to give here a summary of it. It is to be hoped that some day the admissions may be published in full.

Trinity seems to have been particularly favoured by the poets during this half-century. Specially I may mention George Herbert, fellow from 1614 to 1628.

A few years after, on March 30, 1636, I note that it was decided that Abraham Cowley should be 'chosen into a drie chorister's place in reversion and that the Colledge shal allowe him the benefit thereof till it fall or that he be chosen scholler.' He was admitted to a scholarship on June 14, 1637, and subsequently to a fellowship. Andrew Marvell, B.A. 1638, was another scholar of the same time.

The High Church movement was now making progress even among the moderates of Cambridge, and in 1635 the chapel was rearranged in what is to-day regarded as the only correct manner. 'Agreed to set the Cõmunion Table in the Chappell . . . at the upper end, and the ground to be raysed, and that the chappell be adorned accordingly.' The organ was renewed and decorated at the same time.

In the autumn of 1640 the superstitious found a presage of the coming troubles in the fact that for a short time the water of the Cam turned 'red as blood.' They had not long to wait for the fulfilment of the omen, for in little more than a year Cambridge began to feel the effect of the civil commotions. In yet another year the disturbances were serious. On June 29, 1642, Charles asked the colleges for money to aid him in the struggle, and a good deal seems to have been sent. About the same time Cromwell sent arms to the town, and the Commons, in approving his action, urged that the townsmen should be trained. As a result we hear that muskets were constantly fired by the mob into college windows; on this the university, to protect themselves, ordered arms to the amount of fifteen chestfuls. The mayor tried to intercept these and secured ten, 'but the scholars of Trinity college had just taken five of them before the

mayor knew thereof.' Two or three years ago, when the wood of the Great Gate was thoroughly cleaned, there were found in it some bullets which I presume date from these times. On July 24 the king begged the colleges to send him their plate; accordingly silver to the value of between £8,000 and £10,000 was sent, but much of it was intercepted by Cromwell on the Huntingdon Road. Whether our plate was then sent, and if so whether it reached the king or was among what was thus captured is not clear. In the same month Cromwell seized the Castle, and in August he, with the mayor and three aldermen, assumed the command of the town, which remained under the control of parliament throughout the rest of the war.

In the next year, 1643, we were close to the field of operations. In February nearly 30,000 troops were quartered in and about Cambridge: 'the Colleges were beset and broken open, and guards thrust into them, sometimes at midnight whilst the scholars were asleep in their beds; the commons were snatched off the tables in the College Halls; the College rents were forcibly taken from the tenants; the books in the scholars' chambers were seized and carried away; and multitudes of soldiers were quartered in the Colleges,' while a scholar had 'small security from being stoned or affronted as he walked the streets.' In the scheme of fortification adopted, the Trinity and Garret Hostel bridges were destroyed. Order was only gradually restored, but as the danger of a royalist advance passed away the garrison was reduced, though the levying of compulsory contributions from the colleges continued. The effect of these disorders was shown in our entries. In 1638-1639 and 1639-1640 the admissions to the college had sank to nineteen and eighteen respectively, but in



1642-1643 they went down to thirteen—probably the lowest on record—three years later they had risen to ninety-five.

In the same year, 1643, the chapel was 'reformed' by parliament: but exactly what was then done I do not know, save that '4 cherubims and steps were levelled,' the 'Figures' were whitened, and the organ hangings and rails removed. I suppose I need not say that the use of a church or chapel was not in early days restricted to religious services. During Elizabeth's visit here a play was performed in King's chapel or antechapel; and to-day we so far follow the old customs that college sealings, declamations, elections, council meetings for admissions, &c., are still held in chapel, and on at least one occasion recently a public lecture was given in the antechapel.

At the end of this year of confusion, on Dec. 5, 1643, the college petitioned the House of Lords complaining that we were worse off than 'delinquents' inasmuch as our lands were illegally sequestered, our rents were seized, tenants were forced to pay to others the rents due to us, their goods were seized, and over and above these injuries great sums were exacted from us 'whereof we are irrevocably like to perish without . . . protection.' The Earl of Manchester confirmed these statements. The petition was sent to the Commons who referred it to a committee; probably the petition was the cause of the ordinance of June 6, 1644, ordering protection to be given to all college properties.

In 1644 \* Comber sent to the king the residue of our plate, save only some half-dozen pieces. Among those thus reserved were the two communion flagons (1607)

\* The date is not certain, and it may be that all the plate was sent in 1642.

presented to the chapel by J. and B. Stuart in 1636; the famous Nevile Cup (1615); the rose-water dish and jug (1635) presented by Aykerod; and the Pauper Joan Pot. The last was stolen in 1798; the other articles are still in our possession, but the cover of the Nevile Cup has disappeared—probably it was sold in July, 1662. Until 1870 or thereabouts students of gentle birth were admissible as noblemen or fellow-commoners, and a considerable number took advantage of the option. As it was customary for such students on going out of residence to present a piece or pieces of plate to the college, it was not long after the civil wars before the college was again in possession of a considerable and constantly increasing amount of silver—some of the bowls, ewers, flagons, and candlesticks are very handsome. There is a catalogue of the collection in the library.

The immediate effect of Comber's gift was the ejection by parliament in 1644 of himself and eight fellows. On his expulsion Hill became *de facto* master. The House of Lords, however, desired to give the office to Dr. Love, and Hill's appointment was not confirmed till 1648. During the Commonwealth, Cambridge was absolutely controlled by the puritans, but after 1643 it was practically undisturbed by civil commotions. Under their rule no less than about fifty fellows of the House were (according to Cooper) ejected—the whole number at any one time being only sixty. Among the more distinguished of those expelled were Thorndike, Sclater, Wheeler, Cowley (the poet), and Humphry Babington. Throughout this period, some or all of the fellows were nominated, as vacancies occurred, by parliamentary commissioners or by Cromwell, rather as a reward for their religious or political zeal than for the promotion of learning.

Hill was a bitter calvinist and was detested in the college. As one instance of his mode of government I note that he summarily and without inquiry sent one of the fellows (Wotton by name) to prison because it was reported that he had said that the English parliament were greater rebels than the Irish. On the other hand his protection of Barrow may be put to his credit.

The effect of the civil wars is shown by the fact that the number of residents was now so diminished that it was necessary to make arrangements for looking after the empty chambers (Oct. 15, 1645). This is somewhat strange, as after the violent fluctuations of 1638-1643 the entries became fairly constant, averaging somewhere about fifty a year. We must suppose that many of those admitted resided but a short time, for if on an average they had stayed up only three years the residents in college, including fellows, would have exceeded 200.

The first act of the new governing body constituted by the puritans in 1646 was to reassign various college offices and to draw up a fresh scheme for the division of surplus revenue. A little later, on July 7, 1648, they passed an elaborate order to secure the payment of their dividends quarterly—it being felt that if the money was left too long in the college treasury it was not unlikely to find its way into pockets other than their own. It must have been with peculiar pleasure that in 1648 the bursar entered in our accounts an item, 'Att ye takeing up and telling of ye hid money,' and that they thus entered into possession of property concealed by their royalist predecessors.

Of course under the new rule discipline was made more rigid, and amusements of all kinds discouraged. Thus, on July 17, 1646, it was determined, 'in consideration

of the Sophister's pronenesse to unsufferable abuses which arise by the permission of salting nights, that henceforth all such meetings whatsoever of any Sophisters or others be wholly layd aside; and that they carry themselves with all civilitie and without any noyse or humminge upon those nights which were formerly soe called, repayreing to their chambers and Tutors as upon other nights, conforming themselves in all particulars to the rule prescribed them in the statute entitled *de Modestia Morum*.' So again, the hospitality which our bachelors were accustomed; not ungraciously, to offer to the bachelors of St. John's on the Port Latin Day was peremptorily forbidden on the ground that such meetings were 'occasions of Great Intemperance and other abuses to the great scandall of both colledges.' Here is a disciplinary order of the period (July 19, 1652), interesting from the name of the scholar to whom it applies: 'Agreed then that Dryden be put out of commons for a fortnight at least, and that he goe not out of the Colledg during the time aforesaid, excepting to sermons, without express leave from the Master or Vice-Master, and that at the end of the fortnight he read a confession of his crime, in the Hall at dinner time; at the three Fellowes tables.' His offence was his disobedience to the vice-master, and his 'contumacy in taking of his punishment inflicted on him.'

One thing, however, that we owe to the new seniority was the laying out of our bowling-green in 1647. Fairfax formally visited us in the same year, and the college presented him with a bible and a banquet; he accepted both. In 1648 the college placed on the senior dean the duty of keeping the admission books in a form which should show the names, rank, parentage, schools, tutors,

&c., of those admitted: this order seems to have been neglected. On March 10 of the same year, Hill petitioned the House of Lords for leave to revise the statutes, but nothing seems to have come of it.

In 1653 Hill was succeeded by Arrowsmith, who was almost as unpopular, though a trifle less intolerant. From this time Cambridge was connected with London by a regular service of public coaches—a fact not material to our college history, but sufficiently interesting to be worth recording: the fare to London was ten shillings.

Among the residents who throughout this troubled period kept alive the traditions of scholarship and study I may specially mention Duport and Ray. The former was resident in college from 1622 to 1664 or perhaps 1668, when he was made Master of Magdalene; the latter did not take his degree till 1647, and resigned his fellowship in 1662. On the whole we may say that learning and the traditions of the college were maintained better than we should have anticipated from the rulers imposed on us.

Wilkins who, on the petition of the college, was appointed master in August, 1659, was a man of very different type from his two predecessors: he was an Oxonian, one of the founders of the Royal Society, and a cultivated student, but he doubtless owed the preferment to the more important fact that he had married the Protector's sister. He had the reputation of a wit. Here is an illustration of his power of retort. He had written on 'the possibility of a journey to the moon,' on which the celebrated Duchess of Newcastle asked him 'Where can I find a place to bait, if I try the journey to that planet?' 'Madam,' said he, 'of all the people in the world I least expected that question from you, who have built so many

castles in the air that you may lie every night in one of your own.' This lady seems to have had constant correspondence with our Society, and various complimentary addresses to her by Pearson and other fellows of Trinity are extant and are not unamusing.

There are some remarks on the college about this time in a letter from a Mr. Paine containing an account of a conversation with Robert Creighton (B.A. 1658; fellow, 1659; and regius professor of Greek, 1666-1672), under whose son Paine seems to have been educated. I append some extracts:—

Sir,

I took the first opportunity of seeing Dr Creighton, . . . and when I had given him an occasion, he fell into a long discourse about Trinity College as it was in his time. I believe he often has thought on it with pleasure; for he was very particular in every story he told; and would sometimes say it was the happiest part of his life. As to the College bowling-green, it was much the same in his time as it is now. Every fellow had a key to it without any distinction of seniority.

. . . [The master, Pearson,] was very well contented with what the College allowed him; which he very well remembers to have been 16<sup>s</sup> per week at the butcher's shop; but other particulars he did not mention: only in general, that the Mastership was then reckoned a good 500*l.* p<sup>r</sup> an'. The fellows Dividend was 35*l.* a year, which never failed: & 10 pound a year besides, & a chamber. This 10 pound a year he himself had while he was a Batchelor, but had no Dividend till Master. He then gave an Account of his being made Fellow; which was when he was Junior Batchelor, and the year before the Restauration which happened when he was middle Batchelor. He said, he sat for a fellowship as all the Batchelors did, but without any Expectation of succeeding, having many Seniors. The Circumstances of his being chosen . . . were these. There was at that time a Tennis Court, some where about the place where the Library now stands. As some of the Scholars were at play there, the Ball was st<sup>r</sup>oke by chance in to the Eye of one of them; whereupon the Doctor cried out, 'O God, O God, the scholar's Eye is stroke out.' This happening not long before

the Election, one of his Competitors of the year above him . . . took an occasion from it to accuse him to the Master (D<sup>r</sup> Wilkins) & Seniors as a prophane person, and one that daily took God's name in vain; and as a confirmation of it, 'twas added that he never came to their private (prayer) meetings. So the Master sent for him when all the Seniors were come together for the Election, & charged him with it: examined D<sup>r</sup> Duport his Tutor & one of the Seniors about his Carriage, and sent for others, Batchelors, of his acquaintance, who all vouched for his Sobriety, and that they had never observed any thing to come out of his mouth, that tended to Prophaneness or Blasphemy or the Like, tho' they believed he might say some such words in relation to the Scholar's Eye. And upon the whole matter, the Master said, it look't like malice: and that it did not signify much if he neglected to come to their private meetings since he never failed the public, nor his Tutor's Lectures; and therefore proposed to the Seniors that they would lay aside the Informer & his Adherents, & elect the accused & his: which they at his request consented to, & chose him, D<sup>s</sup> Gale (afterwards Dean of York) & D<sup>s</sup> Hutchison all of the same Year, Fellows. And the next day there was a note privately put up in the Screens, 'He that informed against D<sup>s</sup> Crichton, (so his name was then spell't and pronounced), deserves to have his breech kickt on.' This the Doctor reckons an instance of the Master's really disliking the Party he was supposed to be of: and saith, that tho' he had married Cromwell's Sister, he was in his heart a true Loyalist, and had privately sent money often times to the king; and always used his Interest with Cromwell in favor of the royall Party; who whenever he saw him come to him, would first accost him thus, 'What, Brother Wilkins, I suppose you are come to ask something or other in favor of the Malignants?' And one thing in particular the Doctor saith, was reckoned to be very much owing to him. Cromwell had a design to seize the Rents belonging to the Universities to pay his Army; which the Master understanding went to him; told him, they were no great matter; that he would lose his Honor by such an Action, and that his concern to have that preserved had engaged him to desire him to forbear: upon which Cromwell laid aside his design. And that the Master was really well affected to King Charles, was made plain, at the Restauration. For when D<sup>r</sup> Fern the King's Chaplain came and dispossessed him, he was presently made Dean of Ripon, and soon afterwards Bp.

The Doctor saith he was admitted, when Arrowsmith was Master, a very sickly man, that seldom came abroad, who, as well as Hill his Predecessor and Wilkins his Successor, was put in by Oliver Cromwell after the Universities were purged. It was very low with him then, having at first little else to maintain him but his scholarship and an Exhibition of 4*l*. a year; He came from Westminster schole with Dr Gale & so was soon made Scholar. Afterwards he had another Exhibition of 4*l*. a year: one of the two given to each University by Sir Rich<sup>d</sup> Nesworth formerly Lord Mayor of London. . . . The Doctor also mentioned something of Dryden the Poet, which I tell you, because you may have occasion to say something of him. Dryden he said was 2 years above him, and was reckoned a man of good Parts & Learning while in College: he had to his knowledge read over & very well understood all the Greek & Latin Poets: he stayed to take his Batchelor's degree; but his head was too roving and active, or what else you'll call it, to confine himself to a College Life; & so he left it & went to London into gayer company, & set up for a Poet; which he was as well qualified for as any man.

I ask't the Doctor about Dr Richardson; but he said he knew nothing of him, being long before his time, . . . when I mentioned Dr Barrow he said, he was a pleasant goodnatured man; was only Fellow of the Coll. in his time; but said nothing particular of him.

The routine of a fellowship examination, some thirty years later than when Creighton sat, is described by Lynnet, and probably represents the practice throughout the seventeenth century. The election was by the eight seniors, and the examination took place in the last week of September. The candidates 'on the 3<sup>d</sup> day of their sitting must have a theme given them by the Master, w<sup>h</sup> the chappel-clerk fetcheth for them: they sit 3 dayes being excused the 4<sup>th</sup> for their theme. They sit from 7 till 10, and from one to 4, each writing his name his age and his country. . . . Octob. 1 . . . by y<sup>e</sup> tolling of y<sup>e</sup> little bell at 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning y<sup>e</sup> seniours are called & the day after at one o'clock, to swear them y<sup>t</sup> are chosen.'



There was, however, nothing to forbid a senior from acting as an elector even though he had taken no part in the examination; and in fact this was sometimes done.

The year after Wilkins's appointment saw the Restoration. It seems that in 1643, Ferne, who had been a favourite chaplain to Charles I, had been nominated to the mastership whenever it should become vacant. His claims were acknowledged, and he now succeeded to the post. Wilkins was personally popular, and there is every reason to suppose that his rule would have been successful, but it was so brief that he made no impress on the college.

On June 4, 1660, an order was made by the Lords restoring to their rights the ejected fellows. Of course the use of the anglican services was now renewed, and matters generally were replaced as far as might be on their former footing. This year, 1660, is notable for a serious fire in the chapel, by which the fabric was much damaged.

The revenue of the Society had steadily increased, and this same year, 1660, a sum of about £2,000—a larger balance than ever before—was available for dividends: it was arranged (Jan. 21, 1661) that out of it each master of arts should receive £25, the sixteen senior fellows receiving also some addition, and the master six times as much. This distribution was henceforth (until 1882) generally known as a 'whole dividend.' If, at a later period, the free revenue of the college was £6,000, each fellow received three whole dividends, sometimes also described as six original dividends, and so on. This was independent of the profits of the bakery and brewery (which were carried to separate accounts and divided among the fellows, irrespective of the other dividends)

and of the value of a set of rooms assigned to each fellow to occupy himself or to rent to others as he pleased.

Ferne is represented as a man of sincere piety and lovable disposition: 'his only fault,' says Wood, 'was that he could not be angry.' In spite of the persecution to which he and his friends had been subjected he showed studied moderation in the hour of victory, and he recommended and finally secured the recognition as fellows of all those nominated under the Commonwealth, though he stipulated that they should not preach unless they were members of the Church of England. The restoration of royalist fellows (like Cowley) and the continuance of fellows appointed under Cromwellian auspices (like Creighton) temporarily increased the number of fellows and the expenses of the House; in all questions thus raised Ferne showed considerable tact. His excessive conscientiousness was indicated by a bequest of £10 to the college by way of restitution, for fear he had not discharged offices he had held when a fellow so faithfully as he should.

In 1662, John Pearson, the eminent divine, succeeded Ferne in the mastership. Pearson was a distinguished scholar, and Porson used to remark, somewhat unjustly, that he 'would have been a first-rate critic in Greek, equal even to Bentley, if he had not muddled his brains with divinity.' He does not seem, however, to have made any special mark on the Society over which he presided, though during the eleven years of his rule the college appears to have been fairly prosperous and untroubled by internal dissension and disorders. The increase of the library was taken in hand, and to assist in the cause every fellow was required to give to it a book of the value of at least 20s. (conclusion, Aug. 27, 1662).

An attempt of the Crown in 1664 to dictate to the Society to whom advowsons should be presented was firmly resisted.

In 1662 the old house known as Garret Hostel had become so ruinous that the seniority ordered the rooms in it to be vacated. It was understood that John Hackett, a past fellow, then Bishop of Lichfield, was about to make a considerable donation to the library, and the college suggested that he should, in lieu thereof, rebuild this block. This he did, 1669-1671, and in accordance with his request the building (marked *L* on the map given above on p. 17) has been since known as Bishop's Hostel: it presents almost the same appearance now as when it was erected. The cost was rather more than £1,550, of which the bishop gave £1,200.

The civil war and the rule of the zealots left many difficulties which could not be settled by a mere administrative direction to restore the old order. University acts, exercises, and lectures became even less of a reality than formerly, but the general laxness of morals in the country were not reflected in our college life so much as might have been anticipated, for the Society was then, as it still is to some extent, an independent corporation. Indeed at that time it was almost self-contained, having its own brewery, buttery, bakery, kitchens, barber's shop, and so on, and no one was allowed to deal outside the walls with a tradesman for anything thus supplied by the authority of the college. For instance, the college barber had a shop assigned him inside the college; all bachelors and undergraduates had to go to his shop at least once a quarter for 'a trimming,' and they might not, under penalties, have another barber or go elsewhere (*ex. gr.* see the orders of Oct. 14, 1661, and

April 3, 1678). I suspect, though I am unable to prove it, that for other things also the men were assigned to particular shops. The authorities made use of this self-centred existence to enforce, at any rate within our own walls, the former discipline and manners as far as was practicable. Of course religious service was now conducted in a seemly and decent manner—what it had been like under the Commonwealth may be inferred from the fact that arrangements had to be made whereby dogs were kept out of the chapel. At the same time the amusements tabooed by the puritans were again encouraged, and on March 14, 1661, the college made a grant towards the cost of a stage and properties for acting comedies, while a little later (May 4, 1663) it was agreed that ‘the Senior Bursary doe speedily enquire of the owners of the Land by the back Gate that there may be a purchase made of it and employed for a place of Recreation.’ We have bitter reason to regret that this was not carried out. We have an annual function to commemorate our benefactors: I have often thought we might supplement it by a commination service.

Pearson went to Chester in 1673, and Barrow, whose fame as a preacher and mathematician still survives, was then appointed master. He had in 1647 been elected scholar at the age of seventeen, and, though he refused to sign the covenant, was duly admitted. ‘Thou art a good lad,’ said the then master, patting him on the head, ‘’tis pitty thou art a royalist.’ Barrow, however, went as far as to subscribe the ‘engagement,’ but afterwards cancelled his name. On more than one subsequent occasion he was almost expelled by the Cromwellian fellows, but the master stood by him, and it was not until 1655 that he left the college. He returned to Cambridge

in 1660, and was then ordained. The specimens of his wit, which are usually quoted, are ponderous, but his impromptu answers to the pedantic chaplain who examined him when he applied for ordination in 1660 show readiness. Here is the dialogue: Chaplain, *Quid est fides?* Barrow, *Quod non vides.* Chaplain, *Quid est spes?* Barrow, *Magna res.* Chaplain, *Quid est caritas?* Barrow, *Magna raritas.* Thereupon the chaplain retired in dudgeon, and complained that there was a candidate who would give only 'rhyming answers to moral questions,' but the bishop, who by repute knew Barrow's worth, said that further examination was unnecessary. Two years later Barrow was appointed first Lucasian professor. He was responsible for guiding Newton's mathematical reading. His patent to the mastership contained the usual clause giving permission to marry, but this, at his request, was erased as being contrary to the statutes.

On Dec. 17, 1675, it was ordered that the admission books should contain full particulars of those admitted—the old order to a similar effect having apparently fallen into disuse—and from this date our books contain notes of the parentage, school, place of birth, &c., of our students.

Barrow's mastership is memorable for the erection of our present library. While the negotiations connected with the erection of Bishop's Hostel were going on, there was (in 1665-1666) a serious fire in the old library, now C, 3, Old Court; and as the book accommodation was already insufficient, the question of a new building became urgent. Our finances, however, were not prosperous\*, and it was ten years before a decision was come to: the

\* In 1669 the Trinity Feast was intermitted on the ground of economy.

immediate cause of its being then undertaken is described by North as follows :—

The Tradition of this Undertaking runs thus. They say that Dr Barrow pressed the Heads of the University to build a Theatre ; it being a Profanation and Scandal that the Speeches should be had in the University Church, and that also be deformed with Scaffolds, and defiled with rude Crouds and Outcries. This Matter was formally considered at a Council of the Heads ; and Arguments of Difficulty, and want of Supplies went strong against it. Dr Barrow assured them that if they made a sorry Building, they might fail of Contributions ; but if they made it very magnificent and stately, and, at least, exceeding that at Oxford, all Gentlemen, of their Interest, would generously contribute ; it being what they desired, and little less than required of them ; and Money would not be wanted as the Building went up, and Occasion called for it. But sage Caution prevailed, and the Matter, at that Time, was wholly laid aside. Dr Barrow was piqued at this Pusillanimity, and declared that he would go straight to his College, and lay out the Foundations of a Building to enlarge his back Court, and close it with a stately Library, which should be more magnificent and costly than what he had proposed to them, and doubted not but, upon the Interest of his College, in a short Time, to bring it to Perfection. And he was as good as his Word.

Wren was selected as the architect and gave his services gratuitously. His first plan, now in the library of All Souls, Oxford, was to build a circular building on the west side of the court erected by Nevile. This scheme was rejected for some reason now unknown : thereupon he produced a second design for a rectangular building some eighty feet west of the then existing court, and on the site at that time occupied by the college tennis court. This was approved. At the same time it was arranged to prolong the sides of the court westwards to the new library so as to occupy the two gaps which otherwise would have been left. The new piece on the north side, staircase *G* (indicated by *U* on the map given above

on p. 17), was erected, as to the east half at the cost of Sir Thomas Sclater, and as to the west half by private subscription. The new piece on the south side, staircase *D* (marked *S* on the map), was erected, as to the east half at the cost of Humphry Babington, and as to the west half (presumably) at the cost of the college.

The library will always commemorate Barrow's rule : learning, however, received but little direct encouragement at this period. It is true that the mastership was occupied successively by two of the most eminent divines of the period—Pearson and Barrow—and that Newton was resident and pursuing his ever-memorable investigations, but Charles II continued Cromwell's practice of nominating to fellowships—an easy way of rewarding importunity at no cost to himself—and James II went further, and during his reign actually filled every vacancy that occurred. This sufficiently explains why so many of the fellows were undistinguished. Politics and religion, however, attracted some attention, and Cambridge was closely associated with the constitutional royalists, the whigs, and the Cambridge platonists.

Barrow was succeeded in 1677 by the Hon. John North. The appointment was not a good one. When younger, North had been the intimate friend of Barrow and Newton, but he had exhausted himself in overstudy. His character was that of a recluse ; he was deficient in judgment, was over-conscientious about immaterial trifles, and his relations with the undergraduates and the fellows—if we may trust the stories told by his biographer—were not happy.

He had originally entered at Jesus, but migrated to Trinity. Here is an account by his brother of his life, typical of that of a diligent student of the time :—

[He] conformed to all the Orders of the College, seldom ate out of the Hall, and then upon a Fish Day only, being told it was for his Health. He was constantly at the Chapel Prayers, so much as one may say that, being in Town, he never failed. This, in the Morning secured his Time; for he went from thence directly to his Study, without any Sizing or Breakfast at all. Whilst he was at *Jesus College*, Coffee was not of such common Use as afterwards, and Coffee-houses but young. At that Time, and long after, there was but one, kept by one *Kirk*. The Trade of News also was scarce set up; for they had only the public Gazette, till *Kirk* got a written News Letter circulated by one *Muddiman*. But now the Case is much altered; for it is become a Custom, after Chapel, to repair to one or the other of the Coffee-houses (for there are diverse) where Hours are spent in talking; and less profitable reading of News Papers, of which Swarms are continually supplied from *London*. And the Scholars are so greedy after News (which is none of their Business) that they neglect all for it; and it is become very rare for any of them to go directly to his Chamber after Prayers, without doing his Suit at the Coffee-house; which is a vast Loss of Time grown out of a pure Novelty, for who can apply close to a Subject with his Head full of the Din of a Coffee-house?

North, after his appointment as master, continued to live the same abstemious and regular life as in former days, but his health broke down shortly after his assumption of office, and apoplexy and epileptic fits followed. His condition, his brother says, was 'fitter for oblivion than history,' and the closing incidents of his career need not be here recorded.

The Hon. John Montague, who succeeded North, and held the mastership from 1683 to 1700, was a hospitable courteous gentleman, but disinclined to assert himself vigorously. Under his rule it is said that discipline became lax. I do not know on what evidence this statement is made, but it is in itself not improbable, though (even if true) it seems doubtful whether the result ought to be attributed to Montague's actions.



At the same time those undergraduates who were true students found among the Society not a few scholars, who worthily maintained its traditions. There is, however, but little to say of the closing years of the seventeenth century.

The shell of the new library was completed in 1683, but the interior fittings were finished only in or about 1695. The effect of the building as completed is very striking, and must have been even more effective before the introduction of the dwarf book-cases. It is now a store-room of literary treasures of inestimable value. To complete the story of the new building, it may be added that a fresh tennis court was built, across the river on the paddocks, and that the Tribune was erected on the east side of Nevile's Court to balance the library.

In 1685 Father Smith was instructed to make a new organ for the chapel: it was first used in 1694, and forms the centre of the present instrument.

In 1694 the old Cloister Court of King's Hall was pulled down: it is much to be regretted that so interesting a survival of the medieval life of the Society was not repaired and retained. Other small changes, not altogether judicious, were also made, such as the replacement of certain casemates by windows.

Leaving these external matters, I turn to the question of the life within our walls, which, from this time forward, we can describe in great detail. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the average age at entrance rose from about sixteen or seventeen to eighteen or even more. The strictness also of the regulations was somewhat relaxed. At this time the college day began with morning chapel, usually at six, or perhaps half-past five. 'Breakfast was not a regular meal, but it was often taken

at a coffee-house, where the London newspapers could be read. Morning lectures began at seven or eight in the college hall. Tables were set apart for different subjects. At "the logick table" one lecturer is expounding Duncan's treatise, while another at "the ethick table" is interpreting Puffendorf on the duty of a man and a citizen; classics and mathematics engage other groups. The usual hour of dinner, which had long been eleven, had advanced before 1720 to noon. The afternoon disputations in the schools often drew large audiences to hear respondent and opponent discuss such themes as "natural philosophy does not tend to atheism," or "matter cannot think." Evening chapel was usually at five; a slight supper was provided in hall at seven or eight, or in summer even later\*. Sometimes, after supper, 'acts' (preparatory to those in the schools) were kept; at other times plays were performed in hall; and once a week a *viva voce* examination (of course in Latin) was held. Some of the tutors also gave evening lectures in their rooms.

As to amusements, there is but little to say save that as time went on they become less rough. We now begin to hear of dining clubs and coffee-house assemblies. Bowls, tennis, riding, shooting, and hunting were, as ever, popular, but, as far as I know, no one form of amusement was at this time pre-eminently conspicuous.

On Montague's resignation of the mastership in 1700 the Crown offered the post to Bentley, and to the history of his rule I devote the next chapter. The Revolution of 1689 had secured to the college its former privileges and rights, which during the previous forty years had

\* See Jebb's *Life of Bentley*, p. 88.

been frequently violated by external interference, but the results of this period of misgovernment were felt long afterwards. The statutes placed the effective government in the hands of a council composed of the master and eight senior fellows: gradually those fellows, who had secured their position by external nomination, acquired seniority, and the rule of the Society was thus placed in the hands of men who cared but little for learning so long as they could live their own lives in pleasant and easy surroundings; and the college was but badly prepared for the troublous times ahead of it.

## CHAPTER VII.

**Bentley's Mastership, 1700-1742.**

FROM 1700 to 1742 the mastership was occupied by one of the greatest of English scholars, Richard Bentley, to whom on Montague's resignation the post was offered, and who at once accepted it. The history of the college during this long period is told in that most charming of biographies, Monk's *Life of Bentley*.

Bentley was already known as a brilliant scholar, though his abilities had not received that wide recognition which they subsequently obtained ; but the appointment was a risky one, for he knew nothing of the traditions of Trinity or of the university (he had been educated at St. John's College, but had gone down immediately after taking his degree), and, in fact, it turned out most disastrous.

In his career at Cambridge two things are especially noticeable: first, his constantly growing reputation as a literary critic ; and second, his disputes and malversations as head of Trinity. His writings are justly reckoned among the glories of Cambridge scholarship, but I have here the unenviable task of confining myself to the second point, and describing the manner in which he fulfilled the duties of his office. It is, however, well to remember that his services to learning, though they

cannot justify his want of honesty and honour, must be considered before we can sum up the results of his residence here, but of his personal malversations and of his breaches of the statutes there can be no doubt.

His earliest steps indicated his character. Without consulting any one he at once directed various changes to be made; some of them important, such as the necessity of all students performing their exercises themselves (and not by deputy) and at the proper time, others on trivial details which were properly within the discretion of the deans and lecturers. Custom and courtesy—and for some of the alterations possibly the statutes—required that he should have consulted the fellows concerned. There is no doubt that the Society would have readily consented to these reforms, many of which were in themselves desirable, but Bentley preferred to effect them by a peremptory order, remarking in public that if they were disputed there were statutable requirements which for years had not been observed, and that he could and would make it uncomfortable for any who opposed him: in short, he intended to rule as a dictator.

Bentley's action in regard to the master's lodge was even more ill-judged. Immediately on coming into residence he had been impressed with various improvements and embellishments which he thought might be effected in it. To some of his plans the college reluctantly assented, on the faith of representations which were subsequently found to be incorrect. He, however, gave orders for even more extensive works than those sanctioned, and when they were completed he demanded that the college should pay the bill. The seniority would have done wisely to have taken up a firm position at once; but they were irresolute, and, hoping to avoid a scandal,

they finally paid somewhat over £2,000—the balance being met by a donation of £170 from the late master. This sum represented dividends due to him for a part of his last year of office. Bentley had refused to allow the bursar to pay it, and tried to secure it for himself. Montague was a wealthy easy-going gentleman, and, wishing to avoid an appeal to law for his rights, offered to give the money to the college as a donation towards the heavy cost connected with the alterations in the lodge. This was accepted. On one point, however, Bentley failed. He conceived that the amenities of the house would be further improved by the annexation thereto of the fellows' bowling-green, but the scheme met with such uncompromising opposition that he finally gave it up. He secured, however (Sept. 2, 1700), the addition to the lodge of the ground-floor rooms next it—a concession which might with advantage have been refused.

These actions and his discourtesy impressed his contemporaries with a strong feeling of distrust. What, however, could they do? To appeal to the visitor was an extreme remedy, unprecedented in the history of the college, and (like an impeachment in politics) to be put off to the last. Bentley, however, had rightly gauged the characters of the 'seniors,' and probably his contempt for their weakness in defending their rights stimulated his decision to rule absolutely.

Meanwhile, on matters where his own personal interests were but little concerned, Bentley's action at this time was conceived in no illiberal spirit. His tightening of college discipline met with general approval, though the manner in which it was effected was offensive. He also recommended, with the hearty support of the Society, an extension of the range of studies by the introduction of

the Newtonian philosophy into the university curriculum : this naturally tended to encourage the study of astronomy and experimental physics. In 1704 a professorship in these subjects was founded by Dr. Plume, and Bentley urged that an observatory should be also erected. The university gave no assistance, but Trinity consented (Feb. 5, 1706) to allow one to be erected on the top of the Great Gate, and to permit the professor to occupy rooms in connexion with it ; a considerable sum was also raised in the college to provide apparatus. The observatory proved but of little benefit ; it ceased to be used in 1742, and was finally pulled down in 1797.

Monk seems to have thought that before this time elections to scholarships and fellowships took place on the result only of an oral examination in chapel by the master and seniors. I doubt whether this is correct, but at any rate henceforth, if not before, every candidate was supposed to be examined by each of the electors previous to their meeting in chapel. If this practice was due to Bentley he deserves full credit for a reform of undoubted wisdom. At a later period the private examination became a mere pretence, and Bentley, as I explain below, claimed a right to disallow the entry of any one who was not personally agreeable to himself. The following account of the scholarship examination for 1709 is taken from a letter of one of the candidates (John Byrom) to his father. In that year there were apparently ten vacancies, and nineteen students 'sat' for them. At the end of April every candidate sent a letter in Latin to the master and each of the seniors, announcing that he should present himself for the examination. On May 7, Byrom was examined by the vice-master ; on the following Monday and Tuesday he was examined by Bentley, Stubb, and

Smith in their respective rooms ; and on Wednesday he went to the lodge, and while there wrote an essay : the other seniors seem to have shirked taking part in the examination. His account continues as follows :—

On Thursday the master and seniors met in the chapel for the election ; Dr. Smith had the gout and was not there. They stayed consulting about an hour and a half, and then the master wrote the names of the elect, who (*sic*) shewed me mine in the list. Fifteen were chosen. [The five lowest being pre-elected to the next vacancies]. . . . Friday noon we went to the master's lodge, where we were sworn in in great solemnity, the senior Westminster reading the oath in Latin, all of us kissing the Greek Testament. Then we kneeled down before the master, who took our hands in his and admitted us scholars in the name of the Father, Son, &c. Then we went and wrote our names in the book and came away, and to-day gave in our epistle of thanks to the master. We took our places at the scholars' table last night. To-day the new scholars began to read the lessons in chapel and wait [to read grace] in the hall.

Bentley seems to have been much impressed with the way in which the names of Nevile and Barrow were permanently associated with some of our more striking buildings. He was not unnaturally desirous that his name also should be connected with some college improvement, and he suggested as a suitable object the repair and improvement of the chapel. The financial position of the college was then far from prosperous, and there was general doubt as to the wisdom of commencing such a costly affair at that particular time, but he finally obtained a somewhat reluctant consent to the scheme. He himself headed the subscription-list by a donation of £200, though he deprived his gift of its grace by publicly 'recommending' every fellow to subscribe his yearly dividend. Nearly all complied. Not only, however, did they lose their income for that year, but the final cost (over £6,000) was double Bentley's estimate,



and for some years formed a heavy charge on the college revenues, causing financial embarrassment to several of the fellows. But though Bentley's action was neither gracious nor generous, he pushed on the scheme, and his name was legitimately associated with the consequent improvement. The alterations were begun in 1706, and placed under the direction of Cotes. The main part of the work was finished in 1713 when the existing wood-work was put in : not impossibly the old stalls (may-be originally from the chapel of King's Hall) were moved to St. Michael's Church.

The heavy charge on the revenues of the college, caused by the restoration of the chapel and the improvement of the master's lodge, directed general attention to our financial arrangements. Various economies were suggested, and thereupon Bentley summarily, and, to quote his own words, 'without any consent of the governing body, for that was not to be hoped for,' dismissed certain officials and consolidated their offices—justifying this by the assumption, on which later he constantly acted, that his rule was absolute on every matter unless the statutes explicitly ordained otherwise. His want of judgment was shown in an even more extraordinary way by an order which he issued precluding college hospitality at feasts, and it is said that the sum thus saved was devoted not to the college treasury but to his own house-keeping. His action on these points appears to have been illegal. He also gave directions that commons should not be sent to any fellows in their rooms except with his express permission—the object, it was thought, being to make himself the arbiter of the comforts of those who aided or opposed him : this order was perhaps within his right, though it was unprecedented.

It is hardly worth while enumerating the abuses of which he was now in quick succession guilty. In 1706 he secured the succession to the next vacant fellowship of an ignorant profligate, whom he himself a little later described as 'the worst character that ever entered a college,' and this in the face of his own admission that pre-elections were improper; but the candidate was the nephew of the vice-master, Stubb, on whose support Bentley reckoned. In 1708 he expelled two fellows without that trial before the seniority to which they were statutably entitled, and when protests were made, he entered a conclusion that the master and seniors declared the fellowships void, which was in fact untrue. He also began to treat all appointments as his right, and even went so far as to appoint a layman as chaplain, in despite of the statute to the contrary.

These and other similar measures provoked extreme indignation, and led to discussions among the fellows on the best way of securing justice. To check this rising spirit Bentley discomfited some of them, and tried (though in this case unsuccessfully) to abolish the combination-room where he believed his conduct was criticized; but he relied mainly on his power of injuring those who opposed him, and in promoting the interests of any younger fellows who supported him, especially by confining to them the tenure of all college offices.

In 1709 Bentley brought forward a scheme for altering the distribution of the college revenues, which proved the immediate cause of the rupture between him and a majority of the fellows. In effect he proposed to raise the modulus or 'whole dividend' of an M.A. (see above, p. 100) by one-fifteenth, from £25 to £26 13s. 4d., but to

increase that of the master to £850, that is, to more than thirty times the amount of his previous modulus, while he proposed that the master should also receive in addition a fixed sum of £700 a year, together with commons and the use of the lodge. The scheme received no support, but the argument on which Bentley relied was that, unless his plan were adopted, he intended during the rest of his mastership to refuse his consent to the declaration of any dividend—such consent being statutablely necessary. In spite of this threat the scheme was rejected by the seniority on Dec. 21, 1709. The Society, before whom the plan was then laid, also disapproved of it. On this, Bentley appealed again to the seniority to force it on the college, and when they once more rejected his proposal he burst into a fit of passion. He said, that 'he laid before them good and evil'; bade them 'choose between life and death'; and, after some violent personal abuse, he left the room with the remark, 'from henceforward, farewell peace to Trinity College.' How effectively he carried out this policy during his life remains to be told.

The fellows, finding that all hopes of peace must be abandoned, held a consultation: finally, on Jan. 13, 1710, on the advice of Miller, a lay fellow and a barrister of considerable reputation, twenty-four of them signed a request that the dispute as to the validity of some of Bentley's actions should be submitted to a judicial body: that more of the fellows did not sign seems to have been due to the well-founded belief that he would do his utmost to ruin all who supported it. Bentley instantly returned to Cambridge, and asked the seniority to declare Miller's fellowship void: on their unanimous refusal he said he would expel him himself. This, like so many of

Bentley's acts, was illegal, and Miller at once—in accordance with the terms of the statutes—appealed to the vice-master and seniority, who, after hearing the arguments, unanimously reinstated his name on the Boards from which it had been erased by Bentley's orders. Bentley cut out the name again, and then hastened to London to defend his actions.

The story of the ensuing litigation and the incidents in connexion therewith is curious, but too involved to give at length. The Crown was the general visitor of the college, but the Bishop of Ely was visitor in case of delinquencies on the part of the master. Accordingly, a petition signed by thirty fellows was presented by Miller to the Bishop of Ely, and a few months later fifty-four articles of accusation, signed by thirty-seven fellows, were formally presented. Bentley first privately asked the Crown to remove the bishop from his position as visitor; but not succeeding in this, he claimed that, on the allegations made, the Crown was the visitor, and that therefore the bishop had no jurisdiction. The question as to the statutes applicable and as to which of the two visitors was concerned involved some difficult points. It was not until 1713 that this preliminary question was evaded by the Crown giving the bishop permission to proceed as far as by law he was empowered. The case was heard in May, 1714, by the bishop aided by two lawyers of the first rank. A sentence of expulsion from the mastership was drawn up, but before it was pronounced the bishop died, whereby it was held the whole proceedings collapsed.

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This closed the first period of Bentley's rule. Hence-

forth he was in no doubt that his actions were illegal, and that he was liable to expulsion whenever he could be brought to trial. His policy accordingly was to evade a trial as long as possible, and meanwhile, since he had little more to fear than ejection, he hardly troubled to observe any form of justice in his dealings with his opponents.

His immediate policy was to divide them. Accordingly, he offered to the seniority to withdraw his dividend scheme, to agree to the appointment of three of their number to certain offices, and not to obstruct their interests, provided they would take no further proceedings against him for his past actions. Nothing was said as to the future, but there seems to have been a tacit understanding that though the seniority would not approve anything illegal, they would not take active steps to oppose Bentley, if he acted on his own responsibility, always provided that nothing was done in any way contrary to their own pecuniary interests. This discreditable arrangement was duly carried out. His orders about college hospitality, commons, &c., seem to have been tacitly withdrawn.

In this compact no mention was made of Miller. Bentley therefore proceeded to ask again that Miller's fellowship might be declared vacant, this time on the ground that he had an estate which rendered its possession unnecessary and unstatutable. The seniority refused, but finally accepted a motion that a candidate named Humphreys should succeed to Miller's fellowship, if it were declared vacant by the king. Miller at once asked the Crown for protection, and Bentley found himself unable to move further in the matter.

This course was not likely to conciliate Miller, who

proceeded to present to the new Bishop of Ely fresh articles of accusation against Bentley. The bishop, however, refused to use his powers. The college was to suffer bitterly for the statute that entrusted judicial powers to such an officer. Bentley, however, had gauged the bishop's character, and, now that he had bought the seniority, deemed himself secure, and commenced to rule like an irresponsible despot. Henceforth he claimed the right to all appointments and all patronage; grave scandals ensued—thus he gave a college living to a person whose only known qualification for the post was that he had married Mrs. Bentley's maid. He also assumed the functions of the bursar, while at the same time he refused to allow an efficient audit. His conduct in this respect brought on him the reproaches of Colbatch, a fellow of high character, who now determined, at whatever personal sacrifice, to secure justice for his college. Colbatch applied to the visitor, but the bishop again refused to act.

The denial of all appeals for justice on the part of the fellows had now become a public scandal. The Archbishop of Canterbury intervened, and on his advice a temperate appeal was presented to the Crown to decide who was visitor of the college, as that was a preliminary point on which Bentley relied to delay matters. The Bishop of Ely, who seems to have been only desirous to save himself all trouble, offered to surrender to the Crown all his jurisdiction; in spite of this, the answer to the petition was constantly adjourned on one excuse or another—Bentley at this time exercising considerable influence in London.

As the bishop would not act, and the Crown gave no answer to the petition, it seemed as though Bentley could do as he liked, and he proceeded to order, without con-

sulting the college, further improvements in the lodge at a cost of £1,200—of this £900 was paid by order of the seniority. The balance was for the construction of a granary in which he might store the wheat and malt from the tithes due to him as regius professor; for this the college refused to pay, whereupon Bentley claimed it as his right to overrule the seniority in the choice of a junior bursar, and appointed to the office a fellow named Walker, who is chiefly celebrated for his devoted attachment to Bentley, and who was then, according to Bentley's own interpretation of the statute, ineligible. Walker at once paid for the granary. Bentley next proceeded to compel the college, through Walker, to buy his malt and wheat at the highest prices current in the market for the best qualities, and this although (as happened the first year) the malt was badly damaged.

In 1717 he committed yet another flagrant violation of the college statutes. At the election of scholars he allowed none to be candidates but those previously selected by himself, and their number was exactly the same as that of the vacancies. Some undergraduates, not included in his list, having entered themselves, he immediately ordered their names to be erased; and that there might be no doubt of his being the sole fountain of honour and reward, he gave the candidates this subject for a theme, *Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit*. This custom of allowing only his own nominees to stand for scholarships was continued by him in subsequent years, and as none but scholars were eligible for fellowship it was calculated to confine the Society to his own adherents.

He had already assumed the right of appointing to all college offices, and about this period he determined to

use this power as a means of paying his own domestics. Thus the places of college butler and cook were given to his servants ; these appointments may have been justifiable, but when he conferred the place of porter upon his coachman, and after his death upon his son, a boy of fifteen, the abuse became intolerable. It is true that he allowed the duties in both cases to be executed by deputies ; but these, having no remuneration except such fees and presents as they could obtain, opened the gates 'at unreasonable hours of the night, to the destruction of college discipline, and injury of the morals of the students.'

On these fresh instances of malversation, Colbatch once more asked the bishop to act as visitor and see that justice was done, and the bishop again (1717) refused to act.

Two years later, in 1719, the fellows, acting with the archbishop, again asked that the Crown would at least decide whether or not the bishop was the visitor. Bentley seems now to have been seriously alarmed that he might by one body or the other be called to account, and he offered Miller a lump sum of £528 for his costs and arrears of dividends on condition that he withdrew the petition and resigned his fellowship. While this private negotiation was going on, two well-known fellows appealed to the bishop for the justice of a hearing, but he was resolute to do nothing. The seniority consented to charge to the college the payment to Miller, together with £500 to Bentley for his costs (and £284 for furniture), and Miller fulfilled his part of the bargain with Bentley by withdrawing the petition against him.

Bentley seems now to have thought that he had finally made himself safe—he claimed the right to decide, with-



out appeal, everything not left to the decision of the seniority and to decide everything left to their decision (including the election of fellows) by his sole vote unless they were unanimous against him. Acting on these views he provoked another series of quarrels which led to certain actions for libel not material to my story.

During the four or five years preceding this, 1717-1724, a bitter quarrel had also raged between Bentley and the university. In 1717, the regius professorship of divinity became vacant, and Bentley by the aid of three friends elected himself to the chair, a proceeding generally resented but technically not invalid. Bentley, however, demanded (as professor) certain fees from the recipients of degrees—a petty action which led to litigation. In the course of this it was necessary to serve a decree of arrest on Bentley, on which Bentley proceeded to lock up the official in the lodge. This extraordinary act was of course a gross contempt of court. The heads suspended Bentley from his degrees, and a little later the senate deprived him of them. The matter now came before the King's Bench, and the Chief Justice, though condemning Bentley's action as 'very indecent,' held that the procedure of the university in taking away his degrees had been incorrect. Bentley's degrees were accordingly restored, but he practically admitted the injustice of his having charged the disputed fee by allowing judgment for repayment of it to go against him by default, but at a later period (1728) and for future occasions a fee was authorized.

Meanwhile Bentley had for years controlled absolutely the elections in college to scholarships and fellowships, and practically gave office only to those who would support him, so that the opposition to his tyranny

gradually weakened ; and, as on the accession in 1723 of a new bishop to the see of Ely, he also wished to avoid exercising any visitatorial powers, the opponents of the master found themselves powerless to get justice. Bentley now, finding himself thus absolute, utilized his power to provide freely for his own relations: in particular, he secured a fellowship for his son, then a boy of fifteen ; he granted to his brother a lease for twenty years of a valuable college estate in York for a nominal consideration. Besides these acts, he appropriated to his own use certain outhouses and grounds belonging to the college, and finally he built (at the expense of the college) a country house at Over, though circumstances prevented his ever occupying it.

Bentley's conduct at the fellowship election in 1726 was particularly scandalous and led to a fresh attempt by Colbatch to secure justice. This was partially successful. The new Bishop of Ely (acting at the urgent request of the Bishop of London and several eminent lawyers and statesmen) was induced to say that, if he were guaranteed against all expenses, he would act as counsel advised. Colbatch and others at once set about preparing articles of accusation. On this Bentley obtained the college seal to be set to a petition to the king asking him to declare himself visitor ; but the Privy Council recommended the king not to interfere. Bentley now obtained an order that the college should pay all his expenses, and there seemed a reasonable probability that the affair would prove so costly as to ruin his opponents ; but he underrated the strength of their convictions, for they sacrificed their property and even subjected themselves to considerable privation to raise funds to get the case tried. Finding that his opponents were in earnest,

he next applied (1729) to the law courts to prohibit the bishop from proceeding, but the application was refused.

Bentley, thus obliged to appear before the bishop, at once took a number of formal objections, and on their being overruled he appealed to the Court of King's Bench. This court, though they rejected all his pleas, took the extremely technical point that the bishop had described himself as 'visitor specially authorized and *appointed*' by the statutes of Elizabeth, although in fact he was visitor before those statutes were made; hence they said the proceedings were informal, and the bishop must commence again *de novo*. This decision seems to have astonished the lawyers on both sides, but Bentley seized on it as a pretext for another petition to the king (resting his argument now on the Edwardian statutes, in case, as the court had hinted, they were still in any way operative) that the Crown would declare itself visitor: this was rejected. The prosecutors on their side determined to appeal to the House of Lords against the decision of the King's Bench: in this they were successful, but Bentley ingeniously devised an opportunity for further delay by suggesting that the House should compare the articles of accusation with the college statutes, and give directions thereon. As soon as this was granted Bentley asked that each article might be argued separately, and as three counsel were heard on every head, and numerous points of law were taken, the prosecutors found themselves on the brink of ruin. They therefore asked that they might abandon some of the charges; to this Bentley objected, but by presenting no evidence for some of them they somewhat shortened the case, and on the more serious charges, twenty in number, the House held that the alleged acts were unstatutable, and finally in 1733 they

referred the matter to be heard by the bishop. The bishop then secured two legal assessors, and tried the case. The alleged acts could not be denied, and thus the conclusion was foregone. Judgment was not given till 1734, when the bishop declared that Bentley was proved guilty both of dilapidating the goods of his college and violating its statutes, and had thereby incurred the penalty of deprivation appointed by those statutes: accordingly, he pronounced him to be deprived of the mastership of Trinity College. This decision may be taken as closing the second period of Bentley's rule.

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Bentley had long foreseen that, if he could not avoid a trial, this must be the result, and he had already laid his plans accordingly, and taken counsel's opinion thereon. The statutes required that the vice-master should without delay deprive the master (thus convicted by the bishop) of his office. Now Bentley argued that, if the vice-master refused to act, the process of compelling him to do so would raise various legal points, for though the law courts or the Crown might have authority, the bishop would have great difficulty in proceeding directly against the vice-master, since the bishop was visitor only so far as the master's delinquencies were concerned; moreover an appeal against anything done by the bishop could be taken up to the House of Lords, while if, during the proceedings, any change in the holder of the office of vice-master occurred, it might be a further point as to who was the person designated in the statute to carry out the bishop's order.

Hacket was vice-master at the date of the judgment. Although a supporter of Bentley, he was not prepared to defy the law, but he obliged the master by resigning

(May 17, 1734) and allowing Walker to be elected in his place. Walker was absolutely under Bentley's influence, and at his request agreed to pay no attention to the bishop's rescript. The prosecutors then asked the House of Lords, by an original petition, for justice, but the House (apparently) thought that they should apply first to the ordinary courts. Meanwhile, Bentley offered to his opponents resident in college that if they would leave him the title and emoluments of his office and would pay his costs, he would no longer interfere in the government of the college, or obstruct their claims to office, or prevent their pupils obtaining fellowships or scholarships. This was accepted by all save Colbatch and Smith. Colbatch, however, went to the Court of King's Bench, who at once granted a mandamus ordering Walker to execute the sentence or show cause for not doing so. Litigation on this and on the form of the remedy (if any) lasted from 1735 till 1738, when the bishop died: this still further complicated the position, as it was possible that the only remedy was to start again *de novo*. Bentley was now in his seventy-seventh year and failing in health, so that an end to his malgovernment could not be long delayed; and in these circumstances the matter was not pushed further.

In the following year Bentley had a paralytic stroke. He lived for three years afterwards, during which time the government of the college fell into Walker's hands. In this difficult post Walker showed more tact and good sense than could have been anticipated. He restored the form of constitutional rule. He also set to work to clear off the long arrears of business of all kinds—such as making regulations for the use of the library (Feb. 9, 1739); settling the accounts of the observatory, now

more than thirty years old ; putting the bursarial books into order ; and establishing rules for elections to scholarships (June 24, 1740), which required that every candidate should apply by letter to the electors and offer himself for examination.

I have hardly so much as had occasion to mention learning during Bentley's rule, for the position and reputation of the college steadily declined during his headship. No doubt it produced scholars (*ex. gr.* Cotes, Robert Smith, Colbatch, Middleton), but their energies were largely taken up in the endless quarrels caused by Bentley's conduct—while naturally in the midst of these unseemly disputes discipline was neglected. The number of our students was affected less than might have been anticipated. The average entry in the forty-two years from 1701 to 1742, including migrations and exceptional admissions, was 27·8 a year ; that for the immediately previous decade, 1691 to 1700, was 27·6, but a generation before (1660–1669), it had been nearly 50. Taking at random one decade, 1721–1732, and excluding migrations, I find that the normal age at which residence then commenced was almost exactly eighteen and a half, and that the average age at admission was just over eighteen.

Among the trivial changes, interesting only to members of the Society, which occurred during Bentley's rule, I note the introduction, in 1710, of our current customs of standing at grace, and of not requiring undergraduates to stay in hall after their dinner till grace is said at the fellows' table ; the revival (May 9, 1730) of the statutable rule against walking over the grass-plots, which in later times was again and again renewed so far as it affected those who did not dine at the high tables ; and

also of the order against keeping dogs in college—to enforce which the tutors were required to make a practice of frequently visiting the chambers of their pupils to see that it was obeyed. A more important matter was the provision (Nov. 11, 1729) of fire engines and apparatus which should be always ready for use. In 1722 the tuition fees were raised to £3 a quarter for a fellow-commoner, 30s. for a pensioner, 15s. for a sizar, and 10s. for a bachelor; and the caution money to £25 for a fellow-commoner, £15 for a pensioner, and £10 for a sizar. In 1767 these tuition fees were further raised by one-third, except in the case of sizars.

In 1731, P. Nichols, a fellow of Trinity Hall, was convicted of stealing books from our library (and elsewhere)—a gross scandal. He was expelled from his fellowship and deprived by the university of all degrees and privileges. Five years later, H. Justice, a fellow-commoner of our own Society and a member of the Middle Temple, was convicted of a similar offence and sentenced to seven years' transportation. An interesting point in his trial was raised by his argument that as a member of the Society he had an interest in the books, and therefore could not be indicted for stealing his own property; but the court held that he was merely a boarder.

The beautiful iron gates at the end of the avenue, presented to the college in 1733 by the Hon. H. Bromley, are perhaps the only important addition to the external fabric of the college and its walks made during the first half of the eighteenth century.

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That Bentley was the foremost scholar and textual critic of his day every one would admit; many may

admire the ingenuity he showed in baffling all attempts to bring him to justice; but no one now would justify his conduct as master. He was far too shrewd not to be aware that he was legally in the wrong. Probably he believed at first that his rule would be better than that of the seniority whom he thoroughly despised, and when he had once broken the statutes, for what we would hope he thought was the good of the Society, he may have deemed it useless to revert to their observance until it had been decided what were the consequences of their breach. He was warmly attached to his near relations and intimate friends, and sedulous in promoting their interests; he was not ungenerous to those who submitted absolutely to his pretensions; but he was implacable to any who withstood him or asked for justice.

I have already indicated that his services to literature and criticism show a side of his character different from that displayed in his dealings with the college. His influence at first on the intellectual life of the university was good, while it is patent that his abilities immeasurably exceeded those of his opponents. Separated as we are from him by a century and a half we can give him credit for the reforms he desired to introduce. It is, however, indisputable that he deliberately misappropriated the money and property of the college, and that he constantly acted not only illegally but in direct violation of the most elementary principles of honour. For this the fact that he wished to promote the interests of learning can be no excuse.

The history of Bentley's misrule brings out, however, very forcibly how strong is the vitality of a corporation like ours. In spite of his refusal to allow any one



opposed to him to bear office, in spite of his nominating only his own partisans to scholarships and fellowships, the traditions of the Society were never absolutely destroyed, and after his nominees and those elected by them had died or left Cambridge the college recovered its good name.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### **The Restoration of Order, 1742-1820.**

THE results of Bentley's misgovernment were felt long after his death. He had for thirty years or more confined offices and fellowships to his partisans; they now in their turn selected their successors mainly on grounds of personal friendship and good fellowship. They were, however, careful at first to maintain the form of constitutional rule, no injustice was publicly done, and under their government the college finally settled down into a comfortable port-drinking society, well-content to leave troublesome matters alone, and far from straight-laced.

I run, therefore, very lightly over the events of the half-century succeeding Bentley's death. In the university at large it was marked by the rise of the Senate-House Examination (known later as the Mathematical Tripos) which began about 1725 or 1730; was definitely recognized by 1750; had become by 1763 a well-organized system, in which the candidates were arranged in strict order of merit; and by 1793 was recognized as a necessary test of the proficiency of candidates for a degree in arts: on its history I have written elsewhere. A party was also forming in the university which desired to introduce various reforms, such as liberty to resident fellows to

marry, and the introduction of university annual examinations. The principle of such examinations was widely approved, but (largely owing to the personal unpopularity of the proposer) the regulations for carrying it into effect were rejected by forty-seven votes to forty-three. Although, however, the reformers failed to carry their programme, it would be unfair to describe the period as one of intellectual lethargy; indeed at this time the university compares very favourably with other similar learned institutions.

The college was fortunate in having at its head, through the somewhat ignoble quarter of a century that followed Bentley's tenure of the office, a gentleman like Robert Smith, the cousin of Cotes, his successor in the Plumian chair, and no undistinguished mathematician himself. To him the university owes almost the only prize awarded for the dominant study of the place, and in the college we may still gratefully remember him for having presided with tact in a difficult period. It was to the credit of all parties that they agreed to forget as far as might be the ill-feelings and evil resulting from his predecessor's rule.

The first thing was to try and put the finances of the college in order. These had been seriously injured, not only by Bentley's malversations, but by the fact that his costs (amounting to more than double the free annual income of the Society) were also thrown on the college. In 1742 the college borrowed £1,000, and in 1745 another £3,700. The regular payment of a dividend, even though small, was, however, maintained, and probably this was wise since the fellows depended on it for their subsistence. All expenses of maintenance were, however, cut down, and economy was carried to the point of saving the cost

of a clerk to prepare the library catalogue, by ordering (May 4, 1745) all resident fellows to revise and correct it: this must refer to the new catalogue commenced in 1739. It is curious that no one regarded the order as unreasonable. The collection of R. Gale (fellow, 1697) was left to us in 1744. In spite of the pressure on our resources the Society managed (Nov. 28, 1745) to find the money to give £200 for raising men against the young Pretender, and to contribute the next year (July 14, 1746) to promoting an impression of the Welsh Bible.

Discipline was also restored. A rule was laid down (Oct. 30, 1753) that no one was to be considered to 'keep a term' who had not constantly resided at least during the latter half of it; all senior sophs were required to reside during the Long Vacation; henceforth also all noblemen and fellow-commoners were obliged like other undergraduates to attend lectures and perform college exercises.

In the year last mentioned Whisson became senior bursar—an office which he held to the great benefit of the college for thirty years. He also acted as tutor; and in 1772 was proposed for the vice-chancellorship, a fact which indicates his high reputation. In 1750 the financial position had so far improved that the Society was able to restore, partially stucco, and in places almost rebuild, the frontage of the Old Court. This work was finished in 1754, and in the following year the extensive repair and partial rebuilding of Neville's Court were undertaken at a cost of over £6,000. The need for some such work was urgent, but it is regrettable that the graceful Jacobean facade of Neville's time was altered to suit the then prevalent classical fashion, though if the change had to be made it could hardly have been

effected more skilfully. This was followed in 1763 by the erection of the present bridge across the Cam, and a few years later by the destruction of the combination-room oriel and the erection of the present classical frontage at the south end of the west side of the Old Court. Fortunately this proved so costly that the Society postponed the suggested reconstruction in that style of the whole of the Old Court.

In spite of the expenditure necessitated by these improvements the divisible income steadily increased. In 1754 it admitted of a dividend and a half: 'minor fellows' (bachelors of arts) sharing in it to the amount of two-fifths of a master's dividend. In 1762 it rose to a dividend and three-quarters. In 1764 to two dividends. In 1769 to two dividends and a half. In 1776 to two dividends and three-quarters. There were also occasional bonuses and several considerable grants (especially in 1768, 1772, 1778) for the augmentation of livings, but it was not until the struggle with revolutionary France sent up the value of agricultural land that the income permitted the regular payment of higher dividends. Our free income then increased rapidly—the dividends rising to twenty-four original dividends (*i.e.* twelve whole dividends) in 1812, and in 1817 to thirty-two original dividends, after which the divisible balance sank. As our income rose we made large donations for church purposes, but in other forms of charity we spent little, and even then we kept an eye to our own interests. Thus (Jan. 12, 1775) we 'agreed that Five Guineas be given to the churchwardens of St. Giles's towards apprenticing a poor Lad, in consideration of our having permission to dig Golt occasionally upon their waste.'

In 1755 Robert Smith presented to us Roubiliac's

striking statue of Newton, which is placed in the ante-chapel, and in 1779 the Capel Shakespeare Collection was received.

S. Whisson, I. H. Browne, and R. Watson may be mentioned as prominent members of the Society at this period. The last-named was assistant-tutor to J. Backhouse: it was to his action, when moderator, that the definite establishment of the Mathematical Tripos is largely due. He was subsequently professor of chemistry, regius professor of divinity, and for thirty-four years Bishop of Llandaff, during which time he never once visited his diocese. He lived at Cambridge, but usually performed the duties of his professorship by deputy; Professor Pryme says that he held thirteen pieces of ecclesiastical preferment, and did not reside within a hundred miles of any of them.

I have described Watson as an assistant-tutor, and not as a lecturer. Probably about this time the present system of confining tutorial work to certain college officers became fixed. Whewell, in a well-known letter which some years ago I accepted as conclusive, referred the custom, on the authority of Monk, to about the year 1775. Subsequent investigation has led me to suspect that the system is substantially of somewhat earlier date; and I find that Dr. Luard held the same opinion. Even as early as 1663 I notice that there was an order (July 4, 1663) directing that all Westminster scholars should be entered under one specified tutor, and apparently the rule was not new. I do not, however, propose to discuss here this question; but we may, I think, take it that the restriction of tutorial functions to a few specified fellows became usual by about 1750 at the latest, and was definitely established before 1790. From that date until

1822 there were only two 'sides,' from then until 1872 there were three, and since then there have been four.

A tutor at this time was responsible for all the teaching given to his pupils, and pocketed all their tuition fees. He generally had a colleague as assistant-tutor, making with him such pecuniary arrangements as he thought fit. A classic usually lectured on classics and divinity himself, and chose as his colleague a fellow who would lecture on mathematics, and in the same way a mathematical tutor usually chose a classic as his colleague. No student went to lectures outside those given to the 'side' on which he was entered. Thus the tutors appointed all the teaching staff. Private tuition was encouraged by the scanty teaching officially provided; of course, it was open to any fellow to act as private tutor or 'coach,' and considerable numbers of junior fellows did so. I may also observe parenthetically that from about this time private tuition began to be supplemented by reading parties in the summer, which were popular and common until the creation of a Long Vacation Term in 1843 provided a better alternative.

Smith died in 1768. Gray wrote an epigram on him, which comes to me through Professor Pryme. It is still sometimes quoted, but, being in the vulgar tongue, decency forbids its reproduction here. He was followed by Hinchliffe (1768-1789), Bishop of Peterborough and subsequently Dean of Durham; and he in his turn by Postlethwaite (1789-1798), who, after his appointment, took but little part in our affairs.

Their masterships saw the final removal of Bentley's system of favouritism. He, as I intimated above, had been accustomed to examine privately all candidates for fellowships and scholarships: after his death this

course continued to be taken by the master and seniors in whom the election was vested, but finally some of them dispensed with it and were accustomed merely to attend the election. In the autumn of 1786 ten of the junior fellows 'presented a memorial to the Master and Seniors, remonstrating against a custom which was in opposition to the College Statutes, and tended to destroy the objects of the foundation. The Master and Seniors, after an ineffectual attempt to induce some of the memorialists to withdraw their names, pronounced an admonition, cautioning them to behave with more deference to their superiors.' From this sentence John Baynes and Miles Popple appealed to the visitor. On Nov. 3, 1787, this appeal was heard in Lincoln's Inn Hall before Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who, in delivering judgment, said, 'The practice of the electors of Fellows not examining the candidates previous to election, which was complained of in the memorial, for presenting which, the sentence now appealed from was pronounced, was a practice highly improper ; and the electors, even if they were not positively required by the statutes of the College to examine the candidates, would be bound to do it.' At the same time he thought that the proper course was to proceed criminally against the seniors who neglected their duty, and not by way of remonstrance ; and he adjourned the matter in the hope that the censure would be expunged from the conclusion book and the matter privately settled. The lord chancellor, says Gunning, 'heard no more of the appeal . . . and from that time to the present the Fellows have been elected with the utmost impartiality, and solely with reference to their qualifications . . . The system of favouritism which had so long prevailed, and by the operation of which so many unfit



men had been elected into Fellowships, received its death-blow.' Thus was the last taint of Bentleyism finally removed.

Gunning, in his *Reminiscences*, gives the following account of the Trinity seniority at this epoch in our history :—

The Master at the time of the appeal was Dr. Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough. That *detur digniori* was not always the maxim which influenced him in disposing of a place, was apparent from the well-known fact that he had (when a vacancy occurred in their choir) decided in favour of a person with an indifferent voice, because he had a vote in Northamptonshire. In some lines written by Mansel, this circumstance is thus alluded to :—' A singing man and yet not sing ! Come, justify your patron's bounty ; Give us a song. Excuse me, Sir ; My voice is in another county !'

The Rev. James Backhouse, B.D., like most of the Seniority, was considered a man of gallantry ; but Cambridge not being the scene of his amours, he was not thought so immoral as the rest. I think he had the living of Shudy Camps, in this county, but he lived a good deal at Balsham, where he was supposed to have formed a connexion not of the most reputable kind. He instituted a school for females, in the management of which he was much censured. Porson . . . alluded to this circumstance in the following lines, the only lines in the whole poem I can venture to quote :—' Was it profit that he sought ? No ; he paid them to be taught. Had he honour for his aim ? No ; he *blush'd to find it fame !*'

Perhaps the most singular character amongst them all was the Rev. Samuel Peck, B.D. He had a good deal of antiquarian knowledge, and knew more of village law than the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions. . . . His rooms were over the Queen's Gateway ; and on a Saturday, from 8 a.m. till 4 or 5 p.m., country people were constantly going to and from his rooms. To his clients he used to say, ' A lawyer would have put you to expense : Sam Peck never takes a fee, but he loves gratitude ; and he will accept a few sausages, a joint of pork, a couple of fowls, a goose, or a turkey, or any article that your farm produces.' In the evening his boy came from Grantchester with a light cart, to fetch away the provisions that had been brought in the course of the day. I cannot

better finish my history of Peck than by relating Dr Seale's account of his journey with him from town, in the coach so well known by the name of the *Fly*. When Seale arrived at Gray's Inn Lane, he found Peck and two ladies already seated, who appeared to be entire strangers to each other. At Epping Place the passengers stopped to breakfast, when Peck suggested that the ladies ought not to be allowed to pay any share, which Seale immediately agreed to. The coach then proceeded to Chesterford, where the expense of dinner was shared by the gentlemen, the ladies signifying by their approving smiles that they had a due sense of the liberality of their companions. On arriving at Trumpington, the coachman pulled up, and Peck's man was in waiting to convey the party to Grantchester. These ladies were, in fact, Peck's housekeeper and housemaid, who had for some years lived with him in a very equivocal capacity.

The next in succession was the Rev. Thomas Wilson, B.D., who held the office of Bursar. He was universally known by the name of 'Parabola,' from having so pronounced that word when he was keeping an Act in the schools. He lived in the rooms at present occupied by Mr Romilly, to which a garden is attached [*i.e.* Old Court, G 1], and he had a huge padlock placed on the outside of his garden gate. The following reason was assigned for locking him in. As he was standing at the gate one night, Mrs Hinchliffe was returning to the Lodge, attended by her servant with a glass lantern. The latter had stepped forward to ring the bell, and her mistress was accosted by the Bursar (who mistook her for a lady who had promised to visit him), and invited to his rooms. The Bursar, discovering his mistake, retreated hastily through the garden to his own apartment. . . .

Of the Rev. John Higgs, B.D., and the Rev. Thomas Spencer, B.D., I remember but little. Spencer had been Curate of St. Mary's, and during that time was guilty of great eccentricities in the reading-desk. One day after giving out the chapter appointed for the first lesson he added, 'A very good and a very long chapter ; much too good and too long for you. I'll give each of you a verse,' addressing half-a-dozen elderly females who formed his daily congregation : for at that time prayers were read every morning at Great St. Mary's. His malady, which had been long suspected, was now evident, and he was removed from college. He partially recovered, and with Higgs used to come into residence whenever the Master required their votes.

Of the Rev. William Collier, B.D. (universally called 'Bob Collier'), I have previously spoken, as having taken an emigrant Countess under his protection. He had been Tutor of the college, and was for nearly twenty years Professor of Hebrew; he was an admirable classic, and particularly well versed in modern languages (at that time a very rare accomplishment in the University). Collier led a most dissolute life; he was also a notorious gourmand. An anecdote I had from his own mouth will prove his title to the latter character. 'When I was last in town,' said he, 'I was going to dine with a friend, and passed through a small court, just as a lad was hanging up a board, on which was this tempting inscription, *A roast pig this instant set upon the table!* The invitation was irresistible. I ordered a quarter; it was very delicate and very delicious. I despatched a second and a third portion, but was constrained to leave one quarter behind, as my dinner hour was approaching, and my friend was remarkably punctual.' His appearance was precisely that of a friar (as caricatured on the English stage).

The Rev. James Lambert was tenth Wrangler and Senior Medallist in 1764. He was two years junior to Collier, and had been for nine years Greek Professor. . . . Lambert was never addicted to those vices for which at that time the Seniors of Trinity were so notorious; but, when in college, attended closely to literary pursuits. He was made Bursar by Dr Postlethwaite, and during the time he held the situation, was considered a very active and judicious officer.

Of Meredith and Whisson, the other two members whom Gunning mentions, there is nothing special to note. Such was the seniority at the time of the famous appeal. Be it said, however, to their credit that they accepted the judgment, made subsequent elections and appointments impartially, and in no way thwarted those younger fellows, who, encouraged by their success, threw themselves heartily into the task of restoring the high traditions of the college. These efforts met with phenomenally rapid success, and, thanks to them, the succeeding century has been one of almost unbroken progress.

Of those fellows into whose hands the guidance of the

college was practically falling, the most remarkable was Thomas Jones, who about this time (1787) succeeded to a tutorship, which he held for nearly twenty years. He proved an excellent tutor, and it was largely due to his influence that the college so rapidly recovered its tone. He was a mathematician of considerable power, though he has left no permanent memorial of it; but the esteem of his contemporaries and of many generations of pupils were his true monument, and it is likely that he would have desired no other. No doubt the action of the reformers was facilitated by the improvement which then became noticeable in the general standard of morality—an improvement of which Simeonism was partly the cause and partly the outcome.

A year or so later, 1790, was commenced a system of annual college examinations which afford a reasonable periodical test of the progress of students. This has continued in force since then, but it was not until 1820 that students in their third year were included.

In 1790 the college unanimously decided that for the future the presentation to our advowsons should, with a few exceptions, be offered to fellows only on condition that they vacated their fellowships. This change made a great difference in the internal life of the Society, but was undoubtedly to the interest of the parishes concerned and of the Society. Hitherto the tendency had been to regard a vicarage as a means of adding to the income of a fellow, and hence the value attached to the possession of livings, even when small. Henceforward a vicarage was regarded as a pension given on the vacation of a fellowship. Consequently, about this time there commenced a system of making grants to college livings out of corporate income, with the view of inducing fellows to

accept them and thus promote a circulation in college offices. This policy received in 1810 and 1811 an additional stimulus by two donations of £6,000 each from John Piggott for 'increasing the value of certain of the poor vicarages . . . and thereby making a better provision for the members of the College.' Apart, however, from trust and special funds, the college has, during the present century, from its own corporate property and revenue, devoted something like a quarter of a million sterling to this object. Until recently, however, most of the grants were made merely to individuals, and did but little to improve permanently the values of the livings. The idea that the right of presentation to a benefice is of the nature of a trust does not, I think, appear in any of our records before this century, and not, as far as I know, till after the middle of the century. I believe that with few, if any, exceptions the primary design of the donors of advowsons was to increase the incomes of members of the foundation: of course to-day their possession entails the opposite result.

In the last year of Postlethwaite's rule the quiet of academic life was interrupted by the enterprise of an ingenious burglar, Kidman, who succeeded in depriving us of much of our best silver.

On Postlethwaite's death in 1798 the mastership was offered to Mansel, who had the reputation of having been a good tutor and disciplinarian, according to the views of the eighteenth century; owing to some technical irregularity he was admitted twice. He held the office until 1820. In 1808 he was appointed Bishop of Bristol, but he continued to live at Trinity, and never resided in his diocese. He was an able man, but did not enjoy the respect of his contemporaries, one of whom publicly

described him as the 'right reverend lover of small beer, the churchman's shame, the scholar's scorn, Lampoon and Epigram in lawn.'

He had a caustic wit, and several of his extant epigrams are clever though somewhat sharp. Here is a harmless specimen of his readiness. A student began a poem with the grandiloquent lines,

When the sun's perpendicular rays  
Illumine the depths of the sea ;

Mansel at once continued,

And the fishes, beginning to sweat,  
Cry, 'Bless us, how hot we shall be !'

I believe that the above is true, but it is a familiar fact that numbers of university anecdotes are standing stories assigned by each succeeding generation to some one in the near past who has a reputation for wit. The following is another story told of Mansel by his contemporaries, and, as I know of no earlier mention of it, it may be that he was the first to whom the retort was made. It is said that one of the undergraduates invariably walked across the grass on his way to hall. One day the master determined to reprove the delinquent, and, opening the window at which he was sitting, he called to the student, 'Sir, I never look out of my window, but I see you walking across the grass-plot.' 'My lord,' replied the offender instantly, 'I never walk across the grass-plot, but I see you looking out of your window.'

Among the most eminent residents of the time was Porson, who was elected a fellow in 1782. He refused to take orders, and vacated his fellowship in 1791, but in the course of the next year was made regius professor of Greek, and as such occupied the rooms, *K*, 5, in the

Old Court \*. Of his scholarship, his conversational powers (when he pleased), and his wit many stories are still current. He had the enviable faculty of a marvellous memory, and an extraordinary power of composing at a moment's notice verses and epigrams on any given subject. The lines known to every schoolboy,

When Dido found Æneas would not come  
She wept in silence and was Di-do-dum(b),

were given off-hand in answer to a challenge to compose a couplet involving the Latin gerunds. His remark οὐδὲ τῶδε, οὐδὲ ἄλλα when he found himself one night with no whisky at hand and in the dark, and his inscription τῶ Βάκχῳ, scratched on one of our silver tobacco jars, are well known, while numerous charades by him are extant. His criticisms, even when hostile, were not unkindly in form : 'Mr. Southey,' said he, on being asked his opinion of the poet, whom he thought overrated, 'is indeed a wonderful writer ; his works will be read when Homer and Virgil are forgotten.' A characteristic story of him, which I do not recollect having seen in print, refers to his retort to a well-known critic, A, who had published anonymously some reflection on Porson's critical abilities. Porson met A in King's Parade, and at once introduced

\* Staircase K in the Old Court was formerly known as 'mutton-hole.' The name goes back at least as far as the early half of the seventeenth century, and its origin has been much disputed. I owe to a friend the following plausible suggestion. The shop of the college chandler was in Trinity Lane : in 1655 it was kept by Robert Muriall. His brother, T. Muriall, was a fellow of Trinity, and occupied rooms on this staircase which, with the leave of the college, he connected by a passage with his brother's shop. Now candles were then commonly made from mutton-fat ; so it is at least possible that the vicinity of tallow-vats gave rise to the name.

the subject by remarking that rumour assigned to A the authorship of the article in question. 'No,' replied A, 'I did not write it; I have nothing to do with it.' 'Oh,' said Porson, 'then I am glad of the opportunity to tell you that the author of that review is a confounded liar.'

It is pleasant to read of Porson's admiration for Bentley. When he was seventeen, says Dr. Luard, he once said, 'I thought I knew everything; as soon as I was twenty-four, and had read Bentley, I found I knew nothing.' So also, according to Mr. Kidd, Porson once, in conversing with a North Briton, sketched the prominent features of Bentley's literary character with an enthusiasm which so interested his acquaintance, that, before they parted, he ventured to inquire if Bentley were not a Scotchman. As I yield to no one in my admiration for the Scotch, I may complete the story which Mr. Kidd leaves unfinished: 'No, sir,' said Porson, 'he was a scholar.'

No doubt Porson was eccentric, and lacking in self-restraint, but withal noble-minded and sincere: the account given of him by Byron (who kept on the same staircase) represents him only when his powers were failing. Here is Luard's estimate of Porson's influence:—

In claiming for Porson a higher niche in the temple of critical fame than all his predecessors (Bentley included), we look rather to the influence his writings have had on English scholarship and education than to the actual extent of canons discovered or ground cleared. We have already stated our belief that it is to him, chiefly, that English scholarship . . . owes its accuracy and its certainty; and thus as a branch of education—as a substratum on which to rest other branches of knowledge often infinitely more useful in themselves—really takes as high a rank as any of those studies which can contribute to form the character of a well-educated English gentleman.



The close of the period treated in this chapter is notable for the large number of eminent judges educated within our walls : for instance, Copley (Lord Lyndhurst), 1794 ; Williams, 1798 ; Tindal, 1799 ; Parke (Lord Wensleydale) and Coltman, 1803 ; Pollock, 1806 ; Maule and Platt, 1810 ; Rolfe (Lord Cranworth), 1812 ; and Wigram, 1815. Alderson, 1809, was entered at Trinity, but subsequently migrated. The normal course for the bachelor's degree at this time was mainly mathematical, but it required also a general knowledge of formal logic, Latin, and philosophy—it was designed to teach men how to think and learn, rather than to give them definite information. I venture to assert that such a course, based on a rigorous mathematical foundation, affords in general one of the best preparations for legal studies : always assuming that the mathematics are not made unduly technical and advanced.

In 1810 the college took an important step, by ordering that from July of that year no undergraduate should be admitted (except noblemen and Westminsters-elect) who had not passed an entrance examination. The examination was at first placed in the hands of the vice-master, the senior dean, and the head-examiner, but later any M.A. was allowed to give a provisional certificate to a candidate, who was not then examined until he commenced residence : before the days of railways some such provision was necessary. In 1820 the examination was put under the control of the senior dean and the head-examiner, and to have passed it was made a condition precedent for placing the name on the Boards. It is strange to think there are still colleges which have no entrance examination.

It was not, however, until later that we fixed a limit

to the number of freshmen pursuing normal courses who should be taken each year, and that thus in effect the entrance examination became competitive and the number of students in the college constant. I am not aware whether any other college at Oxford or Cambridge so limits its numbers. There are always more applicants than we can take; and that we could at any time largely increase our numbers if we chose has always rendered it easy for us to adopt what we deem the right policy without regard to opportunist considerations.

There is but little difficulty in realizing the life, studies, and recreations of our members during the period treated in this chapter. They have been fully described in C. Wordsworth's volumes. An account of our Society from the point of view of an undergraduate—though it is somewhat later in date—is contained in *Five years in an English University*, by C. A. Bristed. For the close of this period J. M. F. Wright's *Alma Mater* may be also consulted; and, though the sketch there given of the habits of the non-reading men is grossly exaggerated, and there is good reason to think that immorality such as is described was neither common nor open, it gives in other respects a fair account of life about 1818. Wright's pursuits were not very creditable, and his character for meddling in other people's affairs may be gauged from the fact that he (secretly) induced the vice-chancellor, Wood of St. John's, in 1817 to suppress the debates at the then newly-formed 'Union.' Thirlwall was the president, and took a prominent part in its defence: ultimately, debates were sanctioned on an undertaking that no political question which arose after 1800 should be discussed.

On the social side of college life at this time, say from 1760 to 1820, I content myself by noting only one or two details. University society seems to have been divided into rigorously-defined classes; such as heads of houses, professors, fellows, bachelors, noblemen and fellow-commoners, pensioners, &c., and the members of each class appear to have mainly restricted their intimacy to others of the same class. A prominent member of the university used to say that he asked the heads to dinner, but that it was proper to invite the brains to tea—so precise was etiquette. Though there were many exceptions, there was in general but little social intercourse between men of different standing. Even among undergraduates similar distinctions were drawn, and fellow-commoners and sizars, noblemen and scholars, reading men and non-reading men, were sharply divided in pursuits as well as tastes, while there were no clubs and societies like those of the present time, including men of all types. This was in marked contrast to the society of a hundred years previously, no less than to that of to-day.

The religious movement known as Simeonism affected certain classes of undergraduates so profoundly, and its influence was so beneficial, that it must at least be noticed in passing. The influence of Simeon, wide though it was, would have been greater if his adherents had mixed more freely with others, but it may be that this was not then as easy as it seems to us. Among other undergraduates morality was perhaps at the lowest ebb—excessive drinking, if not drunkenness, was not uncommon in certain sets, and possibly grosser forms of vice were not unusual. But of course on these points the prevalent morality of the period must be considered. The

Regent set the fashion, the times were coarse, and the general surroundings of daily life were rough as compared with those of the close of the nineteenth century.

Swimming, fives, racquets, tennis, billiards, cricket, riding, shooting, and occasional bull-baiting were favourite amusements among the wealthier students: a grace of June 26, 1750 (quoted below), specially mentions cricket-grounds and billiard-rooms as places where students wasted their time, and that even before noon! Walking, bowls, quoits, and occasional outings on the river were relaxations of the more studious. The common habit of betting led to various exceptional feats of skill and strength—thus Rowland Hill in 1768 swam from Cambridge to Grantchester—but the general standard of athletic performance was immeasurably below that of to-day. Wine and tea parties were common, while breakfast parties (but not at very early hours) were given by those who studied economy. The only permanent clubs of which I have read were for dining, debating, music, and bell-ringing.

The hour of dinner had been noon until about 1770, by 1773 it had been advanced to 3.0, and in 1819 it was at 3.15, while supper (attendance at which was optional) was served at 9.0. The costume of the day is familiar to us from numerous prints, and its use was sternly enforced; but manners gradually got slack, and in October, 1812, the college found it necessary to make an order that any student appearing in hall or chapel in pantaloons or trousers should be deemed absent!

Mansel died in 1820, and the close of his rule was contemporaneous with the outburst of intellectual activity associated with the careers of Sedgwick, B.A. 1808; of Peacock and Babbage, B.A. 1813, who were largely instru-

mental in introducing into our mathematical school the analytical methods then current on the continent ; of Whewell, B.A. 1816, to whom the establishment of schools of moral philosophy, natural science, and international law is largely due ; and a trifle later of Airy, afterwards astronomer-royal.

## CHAPTER IX.

### The Victorian Renaissance.

THE period that followed Mansel's death was one of incessant and ever-increasing activity in all departments of college life: we may term it the Victorian renaissance. The career of Whewell covered the greater part of this time, and the volumes containing his memoir and correspondence give us a continuous record of the more important in the history of the college, especially for the years of his mastership, 1841-1866. He was, however, only one of a group of fellows of Trinity, who were now becoming prominent, and whose influence extended beyond our walls, and profoundly affected the development of the university. Conspicuous among them were A. Sedgwick (fellow, 1810), G. Peacock (fellow, 1814), J. Scholefield (fellow, 1815), C. Thirlwall (fellow, 1818), and G. B. Airy (fellow, 1824).

Mansel was succeeded by Christopher Wordsworth, the brother of the poet. He was not a strong master, nor always judicious, but he had the good of the Society at heart, and was ever willing to spend himself in its service. A comparison with his immediate predecessors shows the marked contrasts which indicate a new era.

At the beginning of his mastership (Dec. 14, 1820) Wordsworth called attention to the expediency of building

additional chambers. The close of the Napoleonic wars had caused a large increase in the number of undergraduates, and, in consequence of the limited accommodation within our walls (then estimated at only 120 sets of rooms), many of the men lived in lodgings, admittedly to their own disadvantage. After a careful inquiry it was decided to erect, on the site of the present New Court, buildings to contain accommodation for rather more than 100 men; and Wilkins was appointed architect. Some of the seniors, however, became alarmed at the magnitude of the work: they objected to the financial risk, they considered a court on the proposed site would spoil the beauty of the scene, and they argued that it would entail the destruction of stables, gardens, &c., which were essential to the convenience and comfort of the Society. Delays ensued, but the plan was finally approved by the seniority in 1823, by six votes to three, and operations were at once begun. Subscriptions were offered to the amount of over £12,000; the king heading the list with £1,000.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was marred by an unfortunate incident. It had been the custom, upon previous occasions of a like importance, for the fellows after dinner to take their wine and make their speeches without removing from the hall, and the undergraduates and bachelors had remained as members of the party. But upon the present occasion the master and seniors determined that as soon as the cloth was drawn from the table, and the cork from the claret, all those *in statu pupillari* should retire: the latter not unnaturally resented this, and accordingly unanimously absented themselves altogether from the hall. 'The lower end of the hall presented a very curious appearance

—venison in plenty, and none to eat ; beer in abundance, and none to drink ; gyps in crowda, and none to require their services.'

In the Lent Term, 1825, there was a serious fire in the court then erecting ; in spite of this the buildings were finished and occupied by Michaelmas of that year. The architectural style is not happy, and was made the less effective by the unfortunate employment of stucco, but the internal arrangements are excellent. There is now no question that the majority were wise and public-spirited in carrying the scheme into effect. From that date our rent-books show the names of the occupants of the various rooms. The total cost was rather over £50,000. Of this about £38,000 was raised by loan, and gradually paid off with interest out of the surplus rents : the debt was finally liquidated in 1852, when the rents were reduced.

The organization of undergraduate clubs of various kinds is a striking feature of the life of this century. The Union had been established as early as 1814 by the amalgamation of smaller societies. About ten years later, boating, cricket, and other clubs began to be formed, and their importance has steadily increased since.

Trinity may claim to have taken the first step towards the organization of boating on the Cam. This was by the formation in the Lent Term, 1825, of a Trinity Boating Club. Doubtless boating as an amusement is older than our oldest records, but until 1825, or thereabouts, men made up a party, hired a boat, separated afterwards, and considered themselves as connected by no stronger tie than binds a few friends who may be accustomed to enjoy amusements in one another's company. In 1824 the largest boats on hire were



six-oars. The Trinity club was composed of five ordinary or regular members—a number enough to make up a crew for a four-oar—with the addition of some reserve or honorary members who were willing (if called on) to act as substitutes. First Trinity is the representative of this club. Their boat, called the *Shannon*, went out on regular days, unless the weather was bad, and the members were required to be present, in person or by proxy, under the penalty of a fine (which in 1828 was 5s. on racing days, and 2s. 6d. on other occasions). The crew, if and when unanimously wishing it, raced or chased other boats; and if bent on such pleasure the cox blew a horn as a signal of defiance to the world. On some days they declined racing but went on excursions or picnics.

A Johnian 'four,' who not unfrequently hired a boat, found themselves always inferior in speed to the *Shannon*, and thereupon determined to found a similar club and obtain an 'eight.' Accordingly in October, 1825, they formed a club consisting of eighteen men, their boat being imported from Eton and named the *Lady Margaret*. The club was divided into two shifts, who used the boat on alternate days. A week or two later the *Shannon* increased the number of their ordinary members to nine, and ordered an 'eight' to be built for them at Lambeth. The boat was named the *Monarch*. The uniform consisted of a blue naval jacket with brass buttons, striped trousers, and a straw hat with a purple riband. Their next boat, built in 1828, was christened *King Edward III*: hence their flag, which is the same as that still flown by First Trinity.

At Trinity at least one similar club, and more likely two clubs, started boats on the river, presumably in 1826. Second Trinity was the representative of one of these

boats: until 1870 they used as their colours a white blazer, trimmed with pink (which, before 1836, was the university colour), and a light blue riband on a pale speckled-straw hat. There was a tradition that these colours were assumed in virtue of the club having represented the university in some race on the Thames, but I believe this to be a myth invented to account for the use of the university colours. In 1870 the colours of Second Trinity were changed to dark blue and black.

In 1827 two other Trinity clubs were formed; one imported from Eton an old ten-oar boat; another, composed of Westminster men, brought a boat from London. Third Trinity derives its origin from the latter boat: probably the colours of the club were the same as at present.

This year, 1827, regular bumping-races were initiated, to be rowed every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday from Feb. 26 to March 31—fifteen days in all: the races were subsequently continued in the Easter Term. On the first day only four boats started—the order being (1) Trinity, ten-oar; (2) Trinity, *Monarch*, eight-oar; (3) St. John's, *Lady Margaret*, eight-oar; and (4) a Jesus six-oar. On the next day (5) a Caius six-oar, and (6) a Johnian six-oar were put on; and on the seventh day (7) an Emmanuel six-oar, and (8) a Trinity Westminster four-oar (*query*, the *Dolphin*) came on. In these races the Trinity eight-oar, after bumping the ten-oar and being re-bumped five times in the first seven races, became head of the river and remained so throughout the rest of the races. The ten-oar boat finally went down to the fourth place, and on the fourteenth day disappeared from history: it is possible that the club remained and had a new eight-oar built for them, but this is only a conjecture.

cricket-ground, or other place of publick diversion and entertainment, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the morning, shall forfeit the sum of 10s. for every offence.' The first university match took place in 1827; inter-school matches are of an earlier date. I conjecture that our college cricket club was probably founded about 1827: the extant account-books of the club now in its possession do not go back before 1856, and throw no light on the subject.

Of other prominent athletic clubs, the Trinity Beagles were not started much before 1850, the Athletic Club about 1865, and the four Football Clubs even later.

Our undergraduate society at this time, circ. 1830, was conspicuous by the presence of R. C. Trench, B.A. 1829; W. M. Thackeray and Edward Fitzgerald, 1830; Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), 1831; James Spedding, 1831; A. H. Hallam, 1832; A. W. Kinglake, 1832; Alfred, Charles, and Frederick Tennyson, 1832; and W. H. Thompson, 1832. Macaulay, fellow 1824, was of a somewhat earlier date; while Henry Alford and E. L. Lushington, fellows 1834, and J. Grote, fellow 1837, are of a somewhat later date. Their memoirs and letters give us a full picture of their student life. Doubtless the above form a striking cluster of names, but it would be difficult to pick out a single decade subsequent to 1787 in which two-thirds of the fellows elected were not men who subsequently became eminent in the literary, scientific, or political world of their time.

In 1830 lighting by gas was introduced throughout the college (orders of Nov. 8, 1830, and Feb. 8, 1831). In the following year the chapel was repaired, and the stalls altered, at a cost of £2,500; the 'restoration' was not altogether judicious. In 1836 a system of warming it

(by hot water pipes) was introduced. In 1835 the present lecture rooms were erected, at a cost of £5,500: certain payments were at the same time (June 15, 1833) charged on undergraduates by means of a system of quarterly dues.

Chapel, and attendance thereat, seem at this period to have attracted much attention.

In 1834 the master took the high-handed course of removing Thirlwall, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, from his office of tutor, on the ground that he had expressed the opinion that it would be better if attendance at chapel were made voluntary, and not enforced as an act of discipline. It is possible that Wordsworth's action was unstatutable, but Thirlwall refused to appeal to the visitor in defence of his rights, and left Cambridge. The correspondence and papers connected with this dispute may be seen in the library: they do not exhibit Wordsworth's judgment in a favourable light. How far he was influenced by Whewell is not now known.

I suppose that at one time every one was expected to attend chapel whenever a service was held there, but the earliest rule on the subject with which I am acquainted is that of April 22, 1824, which directs that 'every Undergraduate not having an *Ægrotat* or *Dormiat* do attend Morning Chapel five times at the least in every week, or four at the least including Sunday; and the same number of times in the Evening, under penalty that the week in which any one shall not have so attended be not reckoned towards keeping the Term of such Undergraduate—unless such omission be repaired by *extra* attendance the week following.' Fines and impositions were also imposed on absentees.

In October, 1836, Carus became senior dean, and shortly afterwards he called the attention of the seniority

to the fact that the existing order was not enforced. Accordingly (Feb. 7, 1838) the former rule, by which chapel had to be attended eight times a week including Sunday morning and evening, was re-enacted. It was further ordered that no retrospective leave of absence should be given, and that an offender, if three times admonished in manner prescribed for a breach of the rule, should be *ipso facto* removed from the college: moreover, according to tradition, though there is no record of it, certain undergraduates who remonstrated about the severity of the rule were informed by Carus that attendance was not so much a duty as a privilege, which was valued the more by those who were older and best qualified to form an opinion on the subject.

This action on the part of the seniority was followed by the formation of a 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Undergraduates.' Its founders issued a notice asking the authorities whether they practised what they forced on undergraduates, and inquiring why their places in chapel were vacant, although they were very regular in going to hall. That facts might speak for themselves, the Society announced their intention to issue marking-sheets showing the attendance of the fellows in chapel, and as an incentive to regular attendance they offered a prize. Copies of these marking-sheets were affixed on the college notice-boards, sent to the London clubs, and widely disseminated. All efforts to discover the authors failed. The obnoxious order was repealed in about six weeks. I do not, however, know that any formal modification in the requirements of attendance was issued, but in 1841 we read that the rule required two attendances each Sunday and one each week-day, but that in practice four week-day attendances were regarded as sufficient.

The Society, in issuing their final list of attendances, published a class-list, and awarded the first prize to Perry, subsequently Bishop of Adelaide, who alone (the deans being regarded as ineligible) was placed in the first class. I understand that there were few books that he valued more highly. The last class contained the names of two fellows, to each of whom a present of a (very small) bible was sent as an incentive to further exertions. I believe that the Society originated with W. J. Conybeare, G. E. L. Cotton, J. S. Howson, and C. L. Rose—all subsequently distinguished divines. Various squibs and epigrams on the subject were issued, mostly by E. Crookenden, A. C. Gooden, J. B. Hume, R. Lang, and T. Taylor, but these could hardly be reproduced now.

In April, 1837, it was determined to take in hand the revision of the statutes with the view of bringing them into harmony with our practice. The revision, however, was not completed for some years.

In 1840 Whewell's approaching marriage and retirement from the Society were announced. Wordsworth had for some time acted largely on Whewell's advice: he recognized that the college needed a stronger man than himself at its head, and he deemed the occasion opportune to resign, at the same time strongly insisting to the Prime Minister on the qualifications of Whewell for the post. To Whewell it was offered. At the time the appointment was only moderately acceptable; but success justified it, and for a quarter of a century Whewell presided over the college to our great advantage.

New studies (science, philosophy, and history) were warmly encouraged by him in the college not less than in the university, and he strove successfully to break down the system by which mathematics was studied,

to no inconsiderable extent merely because it provided the mechanism by which the candidates in our annual competitions could be best arranged in strict order of merit, and not for its own sake or as an instrument of research or as an intellectual training. But in these as in other matters his roughness and obstinacy constantly provoked opposition which might have been obviated by a little tact: that he was genuine and generous all admitted.

Whewell's mastership commenced with an unfortunate misunderstanding. He was appointed master in 1841, and Beresford Hope, in congratulating him, expressed a wish to see the oriel and the mullioned windows in the lodge replaced as they were before Bentley's alterations: he accordingly offered £300 for the purpose, adding, however, that he was prepared to give more if necessary. The seniority sanctioned the plans, apparently in the belief that the work was a present to the college, and Whewell does not seem to have explained matters clearly. The cost came finally to £3,765 19s. 6d., of which Hope paid £1,000, Whewell £250, and the college had to find the remainder. While the seniority were still sore from this unexpected demand, the master, without consulting them, placed on the oriel the following inscription, which may be still read there: *Munificentia · fultus Alex. J. B. Hope · Generosi · hisce · aedibus · antiquam · speciem · restituit · W. Whewell · Mag. Collegii. A.D. MDCCCXLIII.* The fellows, who found themselves heavily taxed to meet the cost of what they regarded as a luxury, resented the omission of all mention of their own enforced contribution, and gossip (very likely unjustly) attributed to the influence of his wife the refusal of Whewell to contribute more.

I should hardly have mentioned this small squabble were it not for the following well-known but amusing parody on *The House that Jack built*, which Tom Taylor (fellow, 1841) issued on this occasion :—

This is the house that Hope built.

This is the master so rude and so gruff,  
Who lived in the house that Hope built.

This is the maid so tory and tough,  
Who married the master so rude and so gruff,  
And lived in the house that Hope built.

This is the inscription or rather the puff,  
Placed by the master so rude and so gruff,  
Who married the maid so tory and tough,  
And lived in the house that Hope built.

These are the seniors who cut up so rough,  
When they saw the inscription or rather the puff,  
Placed by the master so rude and so gruff,  
Who married the maid so tory and tough,  
And lived in the house that Hope built.

This is the architect who is rather a muff,  
Who bamboozled those seniors that cut up so rough,  
When they saw the inscription or rather the puff,  
Placed by the master so rude and so gruff,  
Who married the maid so tory and tough,  
And lived in the house that Hope built.

Taylor had a happy knack of writing epigrams, many of which are to be found in the early volumes of *Punch*. As one instance of his readiness, take his comment, when two fellows were appointed as joint tutors to one 'side,' that the difficulty would lie not in confounding the persons but in dividing the substance\*. As another example of

\* At that time the balance of the tuition fund, after the payment of the lecturers, was divided among the tutors. Joint tutors have been occasionally appointed.



his promptness in retort I may quote the lines which he wrote at a minute's notice on hearing that two or three undergraduates had been detected in communications with betting touts, and which he suggested to them to send to the authorities:—

Ye dons who with reverend looks  
Profess to teach us our letters,  
Pray leave us alone to our 'books,'  
And don't interfere with your 'betters.'

The first serious task to which Whewell set himself was to complete the revision, already commenced, of the statutes of the college. The result was the code of 1844. Few changes were introduced, but rules that had become obsolete were abolished, and most dubious questions settled: in spite of the opposition of the Bishop of Ely his jurisdiction was swept away, and a denial of justice such as occurred in the Bentley case was so far rendered impossible.

In February, 1845, thanks to the exertions of Mr. De la Pryme, Thorwaldsen's beautiful statue of Byron was presented to the college. It had been begun in 1829, and was intended for Westminster Abbey, but the dean and chapter refused it, and after a delay of eleven years it found a not unfitting home in the library of Byron's college. As I have mentioned the library, I may here add that it was enriched by munificent donations of books in 1855 from the library of Julius Hare (fellow, 1818), in 1864 by W. Grylls (B.A. 1808), and in 1866 by Whewell. These considerable additions necessitated the erection of dwarf book-cases, placed down the length of the library, which have somewhat marred the stately proportions of Wren's building. The difficulty of finding proper book-space, however, continually increased, and in

February, 1892, the college, after discussing various plans, decided to erect a building along the back (or north) side of the north cloister of Nevile's Court. This annexe is estimated to accommodate from 80,000 to 100,000 additional volumes, but already (1898) it is more than half full.

On March 13, 1847, there was a serious fire in the college, which originated in the kitchens: it was extinguished rapidly, but only by great efforts, and nearly proved an irreparable catastrophe.

Whewell was more interested in the studies of the place, and in the promotion of learning, than most of his immediate predecessors. Although too impatient of details and too much immersed in his private work to have been an efficient tutor, he now proved admirable in suggesting improvements in our college arrangements. The introduction of residence during the Long Vacation (1843), and the abolition of impositions, are due to his initiative. In former times impositions to be learnt by heart were apparently not uncommon, and many of those set (even for comparatively trivial breaches of rules) are recorded in the old conclusion books. The last notice in the seniority books of a punishment so completely opposed to our modern traditions occurs on June 6, 1844. It seems strange that impositions should have been set little more than fifty years ago.

It is, perhaps, for his encouragement of the study of the moral and natural sciences that Whewell will be especially remembered; and Triposes in these subjects were approved in 1848, and held in 1851.

This reform only whetted the appetite of those who desired a commission to reorganize the university and colleges, and provide fresh statutes whereby new studies

were to be encouraged and the university induced to take up its long-abandoned duties and functions. A royal commission was appointed. In college the event was seized by various members to bring forward certain projects of reform which had been long discussed. I am fortunate in possessing a collection, formed by the late Mr. C. W. King, of various private documents circulated on the occasion. Without going into details it may be said that the resulting college statutes of 1860 curtailed the power of the master, reducing him to the position of the president of an executive council, though possessed of considerable powers of initiative and control: the whole body of fellows were to meet at least once a year, and on certain questions their decision was to be final; the obligation to take orders was cancelled in the case of those placed on the college staff, but in the case of other fellows remained as a condition of tenure after seven years from M.A. standing; the fellowships were thrown open to others besides scholars: celibacy, however, continued enforced except in the case of professors and a few specified officers. To some of these changes Whewell gave only a reluctant consent.

By the new statutes, minor scholarships, obtainable before entrance, were authorized. In the opinion of most members of the college our former procedure was preferable, under which college scholarships were confined to undergraduates in residence, and only those who were in need of assistance could (before coming up) obtain emoluments; but when entrance scholarships were offered elsewhere our hand was forced, unless we wished to see the pick of the public schools no longer coming here. The examination for minor scholarships was held in the

Easter Term (June or April) until 1869, when it was moved to the Michaelmas Term.

Advantage had been taken in 1857 of the revision of the statutes to procure the consent of the authorities of Westminster School (St. Peter's College) to the abolition of the rights enjoyed by three of their scholars to succeed, if properly qualified, each year to scholarships in the college. From the date of its foundation by Queen Elizabeth until the early years of the present century no public school occupied a more important position, and it was the desire of Elizabeth's advisers that it should be intimately associated with Trinity, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford. Her statutes actually gave to Westminster scholars a preference in elections to all our scholarships, but the demands of the school authorities went further, and in 1608 they obtained letters-patent enjoining the college to elect every year to the fellowships then vacant scholars from Westminster (if not disqualified by character or want of learning), and further that such scholars (but no others) should continue eligible for fellowships for two years after the degree of M.A.

The effect of these provisions would have been to associate Trinity with Westminster in somewhat the same way as King's was formerly connected with Eton, to the mutual disadvantage of both bodies. The college was keenly alive to the evil consequences of becoming a close corporation, and though they could not directly resist the orders of the Crown, the (illegal) custom of pre-electing to fellowships and scholarships offered them a means of defeating, at any rate partially, the royal commands. A bitter controversy began, but Nevile, with the aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft), finally arranged that every year three scholars of the

college should be elected from Westminster boys, that these scholars should never be prejudiced by pre-elections, and that in consideration of this the school authorities would take no steps to enforce the provisions of the letters-patent. To ensure the last clause, the arrangement was submitted to James, and by his direction in writing it was accepted by the college with the addition that the Westminster scholars were to take precedence of the other scholars of their year—the former letters-patent being, by implication, rescinded.

At the time it was made the arrangement was the best that could be come to, but time and progress had rendered its continuance undesirable. It was now agreed that, in lieu of the old practice, three close exhibitions of £40 a year, tenable until of B.A. standing, should be offered each year to Westminster boys, and that the exhibitioners should be able to hold in addition scholarships in the college. Thus to any one good enough to obtain a college scholarship the emoluments were greater than before. The boys elected from the school in 1857 were the first who did not succeed to scholarships as of right, but they were placed (March 3, 1858) on the same footing as if elected, by open competition, exhibitioners of the college.

The need for increased accommodation within our walls was then, as it is now, extremely urgent. Whewell did something to meet this by erecting in 1859 at his own cost the small hostel (known officially as the first Whewell's Court): in 1866 he signed a contract for the erection of the second court (usually termed 'the billiard table') and it was completed in 1868. The total cost of the two courts is said to have exceeded £100,000. The buildings were left by his will to the college for the

reception and use of our members, but the rents received are assigned to various objects.

Another point which showed Whewell's constant zeal for the interests of the college was the acquirement in 1860, on his initiative, of a cricket ground for our own use. Until then Parker's Piece was practically the only play-ground of our members as of those of other colleges. The inconvenience of this was obvious. Nearly all the land west of the college for a considerable distance belongs to St. John's College, but they agreed to let one field to us for the purpose: thereupon we levelled it and built the pavilion, the college subscribing £200 thereto; in 1877 the lease was renewed for twenty years; and it was subsequently extended to 1902 at a rent of £80 a year; the fellows have always paid the rent. Such a tenure is precarious, and it is possible that ultimately the ground will be built on. All efforts to find any other ground between the Barton and Madingley Roads have failed, but in 1897 we secured, though at a heavy price, an area of some twelve or thirteen acres between the Grantchester Road and the Swimming Sheds. This is only one illustration of the disadvantages we have suffered in several ways from having no ground of our own in the immediate vicinity of the college.

In 1863 Whewell was responsible for a dispute with the judges. For a considerable time past the judges at the assizes held at Cambridge have been customarily received and lodged in Trinity College (see above, pp. 77, 78). Whewell was obstinate and difficult on questions which he regarded as affecting his or the college *rights*, and he now raised the point as to whether the lodging of the judges was an obligation or a matter of courtesy. His action was much resented by the Society, who

found themselves powerless to prevent his discourtesy. The facts that led him to take this line were briefly as follows.

In 1863 a third or winter circuit of gaol delivery was added to the usual spring and summer assizes, and the Judge of Assize at Cambridge on that occasion informed Whewell of the dates fixed for the sittings of his court, and of his intention to stay at the master's lodge as was customary. Whewell declined to recognize any right in the matter, and stated that on that occasion he should refuse to receive the judge. The matter was referred to the Home Office, and some correspondence ensued; but the seniority on Dec. 5 interposed, and expressed their opinion that Whewell should as a matter of courtesy receive the judge, and on this opinion Whewell acted.

Whewell was not, however, content to leave the matter on this footing, and in the following year, 1864, he submitted, on his own initiative and responsibility, a case for the opinion of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir Hugh Cairns, and Mr. Fitzjames Stephens, in which he asked, first, whether the lodge could be in any way considered a royal residence\*, and that thus the judges might have a right

\* Any idea that the master's lodge is a royal residence seems untenable on statutable as well as on historical grounds. It may be also added that no record is known to exist of such a claim having ever been put forward by the Crown; indeed the extant letters in connexion with royal visits imply the contrary. The college is, however, a royal foundation, and conceivably the Crown could alter the existing statutes so as to make the lodge into a royal residence: possibly also the same result could be secured indirectly by altering the form of the royal grant of the mastership when there was a vacancy. But these powers have never been used.

to use it; and, if not, whether the Judges of Assize at the spring and summer circuits had a right to be lodged in Trinity; and whether a Judge of Assize at any other time had such a right. In answer to these questions, counsel were of opinion—that there was no usage under which the queen and the members of the royal family, or the judges as representing the queen, could claim to occupy the lodge when at Cambridge as a matter of right; that the Judges of Assize at assizes other than those in the spring and summer had no right to occupy the lodge; and that most likely their reception at the spring and summer assizes was never anything more than a matter of courtesy, but that the long continuance of the custom would probably incline a jury to view it as a matter of right, if any legal mode could be pointed out by which the right might in the first instance have been created.

The college has always regarded it as a privilege and honour to entertain the judges, and Whewell, in deference to the very strong views expressed, consented to continue to receive them as usual and to allow the matter to drop.

On March 19, 1864, the last remnant of the social inferiority formerly attaching to the position of sizars was removed, and from that time they were in all respects (meals, dress, &c.) treated like other students. In fact, at the present time the majority of undergraduates are not cognizant of who are or who are not sizars and subsizars.

In 1866 the interior of the hall was thoroughly renovated: the old brazier which for nearly three hundred years had warmed the building was removed. At the same time the slovenly women formerly employed to wait in hall were replaced by men waiters.



Whewell died in March, 1866, from the effects of a fall from a horse. It was said that science was his forte but omniscience his foible. He certainly did not conceal his view that intellectually he was superior to his contemporaries, and socially immeasurably removed from the undergraduates. To one of the latter, who had offered acceptable shelter in a heavy storm, he is said to have forbidden further conversation by reminding his benefactor that no communication was by the college rules permissible between the master and an undergraduate except through the latter's tutor. There is no doubt that he was absurdly punctilious on trifles, if he thought that they affected his dignity as master, of which he was ever conscious, but he came from a generation when the relation between dons and undergraduates was assumed to be one of latent opposition or at the best courteous neutrality: probably he hardly realized how things had altered at the close of his life. Of his generosity, magnanimity, and conscientiousness it is difficult to speak too highly; and of his affection for the college there never was any doubt. He used to say that the sky never looked so blue as when framed by the battlements of the Old Court, and, when dying, almost his last wish was to be lifted up so as to see through the windows its ancient walls and turrets under the light of the morning sun.

As assistant tutor from 1818, and tutor from 1823 to 1838, Whewell was not successful. It was alleged that his attention was absorbed in other pursuits; that he did not make the tutorship his main work; that he was not interested in the individuality of his pupils, or sympathetic with their aims and pursuits; that he was not businesslike or methodical; and lastly, that he was not readily accessible. I do not think that all

these charges were true ; but were they so, could any more damning indictment have been urged against his tenure of the office ? Much of the work was uncongenial to him, and probably his relative failure was exaggerated by his reputation for encyclopaedic knowledge. He did, however, so far realize the position as to obtain in 1833 permission for Perry, afterwards Bishop of Melbourne, to act as his colleague, and subsequently the latter did much of the business, or saw that it was done. But the mastership offered Whewell opportunities for leadership, for encouragement of learning, and for unselfish munificence, of which he freely availed himself. The college and the university bear the impress of his statesmanlike policy. I cannot illustrate this part of his career better than by quoting the eloquent words of Lightfoot, who addressing the college on Sunday, March 18, 1866, thus summed up the characteristics of Whewell :—

We may fairly say that, as a Master of the College, he stands out pre-eminent in the long list of three centuries ; as a man of letters, greatest of all since Bentley ; as a munificent and patriotic ruler, greatest of all since Nevile ; but, as uniting in himself many and various qualifications which, combined, go far towards realizing the ideal head of a religious and learned foundation, the just representative of a famous academic body, greater than these or any of his predecessors. Vast and varied mental powers, untiring energy and extensive knowledge, integrity of character and strictness of example, a wide and general munificence, a keen interest in university progress, an intense devotion to his own college, a strong sense of duty, a true largeness of heart, a simple Christian faith ; the union of these qualities fairly entitles him to the foremost place among the Masters of Trinity.

By his will Whewell made munificent provision for the establishment in the university of a school of International Law. He also founded two scholarships in the

college, and directed that certain property which had been bequeathed by Mrs. Whewell to the college for such purposes as he should direct might be used in providing additional scholarships, but he gave to the seniority power to apply Mrs. Whewell's Fund otherwise, and they, possibly in deference to what they thought had been the donor's wishes, ordered the interest of it to be used in making grants to college vicars.

Whewell was succeeded by Thompson, one of the finest Greek scholars of his generation. Innumerable stories of his wit are still current, but so many of his contemporaries are yet happily among us that it seems fitter not to tell them here. His dignified presence, courtly manners, sound judgment, and shrewd but kindly criticisms, are still affectionately remembered.

Immediately on Whewell's death the seniority (Mar. 24, 1866) passed a resolution that the college should, as soon as practicable after the installation of the new master, execute a formal instrument giving the Judges of Assize a right to such hospitality as had been customarily offered to them. The draft of the proposed instrument was approved by the home secretary, by the lord chief justice of England, by the attorney-general and by the solicitor-general. It was executed on June 12, 1866. Curiously enough the details of the arrangement were not communicated to all the Judges of Assize of a later date, and subsequently one instance occurred in which its terms were departed from. The breach of the understanding was accidental, but it served to confirm the instrument, for on the facts being laid before a full meeting of the judges who then went circuit, they unanimously resolved (May 31, 1883) that the instrument and Dr. Thompson's letter of May 17, 1883, should be

entered in the judges' book, that the judges' assent to the understanding therein set forth should be recorded, and that the college should be informed of this resolution. Such was the happy termination of a question which had been most unnecessarily raised by Whewell.

The question of the provision of additional accommodation in chapel had been brought up in the last years of Whewell's mastership, but the work was not commenced till after his death. A proposal to rebuild the chapel was (I think, unfortunately) rejected, and it was decided to enlarge it by moving the organ screen westwards to its original position, and to repair and redecorate the whole: the windows are of this date. The total cost considerably exceeded £20,000, of which sum over £11,000 was subscribed. The restoration was not finished till 1876. Statues of Whewell (ordered by the college December, 1866, in memory of his many services) and of Macaulay (accepted May, 1868, from subscribers) were placed in the antechapel with those of Bacon, Barrow, and Newton—those of Bacon and Barrow had been given by Whewell.

Two small additions to the walks and fabric of the college date from Thompson's mastership, and may be mentioned at once. In 1871 the garden in the 'Backs,' known as the 'Roundabout,' was purchased at a cost of £4,000, contributed by the fellows; it had been leased by the college since 1803. And in 1874 the old stables at the back of the Bishop's Hostel were removed, and the present chambers (staircases *D*, *E*, *F*) erected on that site (indicated by *M* and *N* on the map given above on p. 17). I turn from these to more important questions.

The custom of dividing the internal administrative

work of the college among a large number of officers—junior bursar, steward, pandoxator, father, praelector, &c.—was wasteful of time and energy, and was not conducive to efficiency. The duties of pandoxator had been assigned to the junior bursar in 1839. In October, 1869, advantage was taken of certain resignations to consolidate the remaining offices in his hands. The stipend was raised, and proper clerical assistance afforded. No one can doubt that the change was wise and has worked well.

In the first year of Thompson's rule (Nov. 16, 1866) our scholarships were opened to freshmen. The next year (Nov. 20, 1867) it was arranged that scholarships should be obtainable for proficiency in natural sciences, and in 1869 a similar extension to Oriental Languages was made. In fact we may say that henceforth scholarships and fellowships were obtainable for proficiency in any branch of university studies, and not only in mathematics and classics. About the same time (Feb. 20, 1869) the college agreed to a plan by which the Campden Scholarships at St. Paul's School, founded to enable scholars of the school to come to Trinity, were opened to boys who wished to go to any college in either university.

The encouragement of new studies received a further considerable stimulus by the appointment (June 3, 1870) of a praelector in physiology. This was to all intents and purposes a benefaction to the university at the cost of the college, and the growth of the biological and medical schools which distinguish the university to-day is largely due to this appointment. About this time our finances were prosperous, and many of the Society hoped that the seniority would see their way to promote the interests of our historical school in a similar manner, since it

was impossible for one man, however able, to do all that is required in a college of our size: but this was not to be.

The direct application of surplus corporate income to the promotion of teaching or research seems to have been a new departure, and is very important as indicative of a fundamental change of view respecting our functions. I think that the permanent policy of the seniority for the previous century may be described by saying that their first object was to make the customary dividends of the fellows secure, and, subject to that, to devote any available surplus (income or capital) of corporate property to increasing the values of livings belonging to us (or occasionally where we had property) with the view of providing retiring posts for fellows who wished to marry or leave the university. This policy may or may not have been wise, and, had the seniority confined themselves to making temporary grants out of income, a good case for it could, I think, be made out, but the fact that they repeatedly and deliberately made such grants either out of our capital or by irrevocable charges on our income was, in my opinion, unjustifiable. I hold that all permanent alienations of college property are in general indefensible, but that the case of donations and annual subscriptions out of our income (that is, contributions out of our own pockets) is different, and these, subject to the provisions of our statutes, are reasonable if they have the deliberate sanction of the Society.

Our action in promoting the establishment of the biological schools has attracted wide attention, but in fact it was only a small part of a general development of activity which has affected all departments of the university. Under Clerk Maxwell (fellow, 1855) and

Lord Rayleigh (fellow, 1866) a school of mathematical and experimental physics was practically created: while the names of Munro (fellow, 1843), Jebb (fellow, 1863), and Jackson (fellow, 1864) in classics; of Sidgwick (fellow, 1859) in philosophy; of Westcott (fellow, 1849), Lightfoot (fellow, 1852), and Hort (fellow, 1852) in theology, will occur to all as among the most eminent residents in the university of the time.

The desire to encourage new studies was emphasized by the explicit offer in certain years from 1870 to 1880 (inclusive) of fellowships obtainable for proficiency in science or philosophy. Subsequently fellowships have been obtainable every year by candidates of sufficient merit in those branches of learning. During these eleven years such fellowships were thrown open to the competition of the university, but in only one case did any one outside our Society secure election. However fortunate the result of that particular election may have been, the principle involved did not commend itself to all members of the House. The excellent discipline of the college, and the friendly relations between all its members, are probably largely due to the fact that our dons have been undergraduates of the House, and thus are familiar with their traditions. Of course it may be sometimes wise for a college to offer a fellowship to a particular individual whose presence is desired, but in such cases an examination does not afford the best method of selection.

The most important work connected with Thompson's mastership was the fresh revision of the college statutes. In December, 1872, the college drafted new statutes. The Crown refused to confirm them immediately, but a commission was appointed to collect information, and in

1877 another commission to make new statutes for the university and all the colleges therein. Great pains were taken over our new statutes, and no less than forty-five formal meetings of the whole body of fellows were held, besides numerous committee and sectional meetings. The final draft was prepared by Professor Cayley (fellow, 1842).

One important change which affected all the colleges was the imposition of a tax, rising to £30,000 a year, on the existing colleges for the benefit of the university. It gave the university a considerable income immediately—and no doubt this was wanted—but its ultimate effect may be to discourage benefactions, while the method used in raising the sum leads to the paradoxical result that the more efficient a college the heavier is the burden thrown on it. It applies to future gifts to colleges as well as to their property at the time of the order, and thus those who desire to benefit a college may in the future see their intentions partially frustrated by the onerous tax now imposed on their donations, though this difficulty could be evaded by the introduction of external trustees.

In our statutes, as finally approved in 1882, the seniority was swept away, and in lieu of it there was appointed an executive council of thirteen, consisting of the master, the two bursars, the senior tutor, the senior dean, and eight elective members; the whole body of fellows was given a decisive voice on fundamental questions; all restrictions on marriage were discarded; a limit to the tenure of offices was established; pensions by means of fellowships were introduced; and arrangements made by which fellowships could be given for and retained by research work.



Formerly the emoluments of a scholar consisted of rooms, commons, &c., besides a small money payment. After 1875 these were replaced by a pecuniary allowance, which (with the view of making scholars vividly realize that they were part of the foundation) depended in part on the dividend for the time being of a fellow: the method used was absurd, but the object is laudable. Under the new statutes all rights were commuted for a fixed pecuniary payment, and practically all that now remains of the former privileges of scholars are a certain precedence, and the use of a special table in hall and of specified seats in chapel: even to these they have now no claim. This change was desired by the scholars of the time, but it is regrettable from some points of view, and especially to those like myself who would gladly see the scholars acting in a visible way as part of the foundation.

Two internal reforms of great importance were brought into effect about the same time as the new statutes, and in reality form part of the same movement. The first was the introduction in 1877 into the fellowship examination of a system of dissertations which should encourage original research. The second (which may be perhaps referred back to 1869) was the recognition of the principle that all educational payments and appointments were made directly by the council.

Another problem of great importance, which will have to be dealt with in the near future, is the provision of additional chambers. It is a commonplace that college life can be, in general, completely appreciated only by those who live in college. Nearly half of our undergraduates are in lodgings: it is a misfortune for them and for our corporate life. In the 'Notes' which I issued to my pupils in 1897-1898 I indicated how urgent was

the matter, and I described six plans of extension which have been at various times proposed. I will not here go into the matter nor indicate my own views, but clearly the question raises large and important issues, and can be taken up only by the corporate Society.

The promulgation of the statutes of 1882 opened a new chapter. Many of the consequent changes were very important, but they lie beyond my limits; and I may here fitly conclude this brief outline of the leading facts in our history.

THE END

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